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THE SOCIAL ORGANIZATION OF AUSTRALIAN TRIBES

BY

A. R. RADCLIFFE-BROWN

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ERRATA

Page 17, line 8, for *page* 49 read *page* 18.

„ 20, line 20, the chart referred to is to be found facing page 64.

„ 22, line 21, for *Ŋyul-Ŋyul* read *Barda*.

„ 92, line 16 and 17 and page 93, line 1, for *Bad* read *Barda*.

„ 103, foot-note, for *Famliy* read *Family*.

„ 114, line 20, for *their* read *the*.

„ 116, 3rd line from bottom, insert comma after *bordes*.

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PART I

SINCE Fison and Howitt published in 1880 their *Kamilaroi and Kurnai*, the social organization of the aboriginal tribes of Australia has received a great deal of attention from anthropologists, and the literature on the subject is now very extensive. That literature has given currency to a number of misconceptions. The present paper is an attempt to indicate as concisely as possible what that organization really is, and to give a summary of the existing knowledge about it. It is intended to serve as an introduction to new researches which are now in progress, and the results of which will be published in due course.

There are many different forms of social organization in Australia, but it will appear, I think, that they can all be regarded as different varieties of a single general type. The easiest way to give a descriptive account is therefore to describe the general type first and then go on to describe, and as far as possible classify, the different varieties. That is the procedure that will be followed here.

The basic elements of social structure in Australia are (1) the family, *i.e.*, the group formed by a man and his wife and their children, and (2) the horde, a small group owning and occupying a definite territory or hunting ground. Together with these there is, of course, a grouping for social purposes on the basis of sex and age. It is on the basis of the family and the horde that the somewhat complex kinship organizations of Australia are built.

It is not easy to give a precise and accurate account of the local organization of Australia. In the first place there are many difficulties in the way of a study of the local organization amongst the natives themselves, which can only be overcome with unlimited patience and

ample time, and the use of a strict method of enquiry such as that afforded by the collection of genealogies. Those difficulties are greatly increased when the country has been occupied for some time by the white man, for the local organization is the first part of the social system to be destroyed by the advent of the European and the expropriation of the native owners of the land.

What accounts we have of the Australian local organization are therefore mostly unsatisfactory as being based on incomplete observation. Moreover most of them are so lacking in precision as to be almost useless. This is partly due to the fact that the writers have not made sufficiently searching investigations, and partly to the use of vague or confused terminology, such terms as "tribe," "family," etc., being used without exact definition.

It is not easy to reconcile the many different statements that can be found in the literature on Australia, and it is impossible to undertake here a critical examination of those statements. It must therefore suffice here to make the bald statement that a careful comparison of them in the light of the results of the latest research leads to the conclusion that the important local group throughout Australia is what will here be spoken of as the *horde*. The horde is a small group of persons owning a certain area of territory, the boundaries of which are known, and possessing in common proprietary rights over the land and its products—mineral, vegetable and animal. It is the primary land-owning or land-holding group. Membership of a horde is determined in the first place by descent, children belonging to the horde of their father. There is normally, in the tribes about which we have adequate information, no provision by which a man could leave his own horde and be 'adopted' or 'naturalized' in another. Therefore, as a normal thing, male members enter the horde by birth and remain in it till death. In many regions the horde is exogamous. But even where there is not a strict rule against marriage within the horde, the great majority of marriages are outside the horde. The woman, at marriage, leaves her horde and joins that of her husband.

The horde, therefore, as an existing group at any moment, consists of (1) male members of all ages whose fathers and fathers' fathers belonged to the horde, (2) unmarried girls who are the sisters or daughters or son's daughters of the male members, (3) married women, all of whom, in some

regions, and most of whom, in others, belonged originally to other hordes, and have become attached to the horde by marriage.

It may be added that normally throughout Australia each horde is independent and autonomous, managing its own affairs and acting as a unit in its relations with other hordes.

Throughout Australia hordes are grouped into larger local or territorial units, which will be spoken of as *tribes*. The primary mark of a tribe is that it consists of persons speaking one language, or dialects of one language. Its unity is primarily linguistic. The name of the tribe and the name of its language are normally the same. So that the easiest way to ascertain to what tribe an individual belongs is usually to ask him what language he speaks. In addition to this unity that comes from a common language there is also a unity of custom throughout the tribe.

It is often difficult, however, to say whether a particular recognized local group is a tribe, or a subdivision of a tribe, or whether another group is a tribe or a larger unit consisting of a number of related tribes. Thus within what might be regarded as a large tribe there may be differences of dialect (and differences of custom) in different parts, so that it is divided into *sub-tribes*. Again, adjoining tribes frequently resemble one another in language and custom. It is therefore sometimes difficult to decide whether we are dealing with a tribe subdivided into sub-tribes or with a group of related tribes.

So far as Australia is concerned, therefore, we have to define a tribe as a body of persons having a certain homogeneity of language and custom sufficient to permit them to be recognized as a group, and to demarcate them as distinct from other and neighbouring groups.

A tribe is commonly spoken of as possessing a certain territory, and is regarded as a land-holding group. So far as Australia is concerned, this is not quite accurate. It is true that each tribe may be regarded as occupying a territory, but this is only because it consists of a certain number of hordes, each of which has its territory. The territory of the tribe is the total of the territories of its component hordes. Moreover, in some instances at least, the boundary between one tribe and another may be indeterminate. Thus in Western Australia a horde lying on the boundary of the Ngaluma and Kariëra tribes was declared to me to be "half Ngaluma, half Kariëra," *i.e.*, belonging properly to

neither of the two tribes. Similar instances of hordes which occupy an indeterminate position between two adjoining tribes of similar language and custom occur elsewhere in Australia.

A tribe is also sometimes spoken of as a body of kindred. It will be shown later that the kinship organization of Australia spreads over the tribal boundaries. A man may have as many kin in another tribe or in other tribes as he has in his own. It is therefore impossible to define the tribe in terms of kinship.

The Australian tribe has usually, if not always, no political unity. There is no central authority for the tribe as a whole, nor does the tribe act as a unit in warfare. The political unit, if it can be properly called such, and normally the war-making unit, is the horde. A number of hordes may unite together in warfare, but they fight as independent allies.

We see, therefore, that the tribe in Australia consists essentially of a number of neighbouring hordes, which are united by the possession of a common language and common customs. The group is often an indeterminate one because it is difficult to say exactly where one language ends and another begins.

Most of the tribes of Australia have some sort of division into two, four, or eight parts, which, since they were supposed to regulate marriage, have been called "marriage classes." This name is for several reasons unsuitable. In sociology it is convenient to reserve the term "class" as a technical term for social groups marked off from one another by differences of rank or occupation. It will be shown that it is somewhat misleading to call the divisions marriage divisions or exogamic divisions. Further, the four divisions of such a tribe as the Mara are of quite a different character and constitution from the four divisions of the Kamilaroi or the Kariera, yet both are commonly spoken of as classes. I shall therefore avoid the term "class," and shall attempt to substitute a more systematic terminology.

Where there are two divisions I shall speak of *moieties*. In both western and eastern Australia there are tribes that have a division into matrilineal moieties. Thus in the neighbourhood of Perth the tribe was divided into two parts called Manitjmat and Wardangmat after the crow (*wardang*) and the white cockatoo (*manitj*). A man of one division (moiety) had to take his wife from the other. The children belonged

to the moiety of the mother. Other tribes had a division into patrilineal moieties. Thus in Central Victoria the natives were divided into moieties named after the eaglehawk and the crow. A man of the eaglehawk moiety might only marry a crow woman, and the children would be eaglehawk like the father.

A large number of tribes have a division into four parts, which will be spoken of throughout this essay as *sections*.¹ Thus in the Kariera tribe the four sections are named Banaka, Burung, Karimera and Palyeri. A man of one section may only marry a woman of one other particular section. Thus a Banaka man may only marry a Burung woman. The children belong to a section different from that of either the father or the mother. The children of a Banaka man and a Burung woman are Palyeri, and they in their turn may only marry with Karimera. It is convenient to represent the system of marriage and descent by means of a diagram.



The sign = connects the two sections that intermarry; the arrow sign connects the section of a mother with that of her child. Substituting letters for the specific names we have as the general scheme for the four section system—



Reading off the rules from this diagram² we have—

A	marries	b,	children are	D	and	d
B	„	a,	„ „	C	„	c
C	„	d,	„ „	B	„	b
D	„	c,	„ „	A	„	a

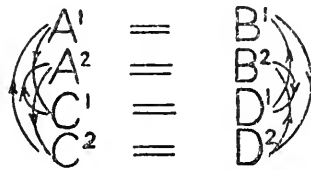
I propose to speak of the two sections that intermarry as forming a *pair*. The two pairs are therefore AB, CD. The sections that contain father and child I shall speak of as a *couple*. The two couples are therefore AD and BC. If a man belongs to one section his children belong to the other section of his own couple. The children of Banaka men are always Palyeri.

¹ The term has been criticized, but I have failed to find a better.

² In this and similar tables the capital letters stand for males and the lower case letters for females.

It will be readily seen that this system of four sections involves a division of the society into two matrilineal moieties and also a cross division into two patrilineal moieties. Thus in the diagram the sections A and D (Banaka and Palyeri) constitute one patrilineal moiety, and B and C (Burung and Karimera) the other. While A and C constitute one matrilineal moiety and B and D the other. In many of the tribes of eastern Australia there are names for the matrilineal moieties in addition to the names for the sections. It is important to remember that the moieties exist in every section system whether they are named or not.

A still more complex system is that in which the tribe has eight subdivisions. These will be called *subsections*, since they can be shown to be subdivisions of the sections of the four-section system. The following diagram shows the rules of marriage and descent in the system of eight subsections :

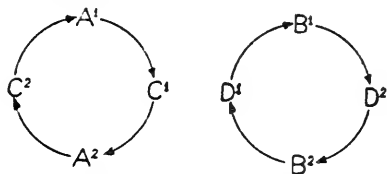


The sign = connects two intermarrying subsections. I shall speak of two such together as an *intermarrying pair* or simply a *pair*. The lines at the side connect the sub-section of a woman with that of her child, the arrow indicating the direction in which the line is to be followed. Thus, reading the diagram we have

A ¹	marries	b ¹	and the children are	D ²	and	d ²
A ²	„	b ²	„ „ „	D ¹	„	d ¹
B ¹	„	a ¹	„ „ „	C ¹	„	c ¹
B ²	„	a ²	„ „ „	C ²	„	c ²
C ¹	„	d ¹	„ „ „	B ¹	„	b ¹
C ²	„	d ²	„ „ „	B ²	„	b ²
D ¹	„	c ¹	„ „ „	A ²	„	a ²
D ²	„	c ²	„ „ „	A ¹	„	a ¹

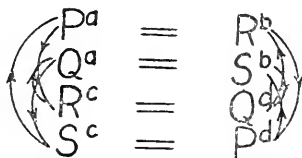
I shall speak of the subsection of a father and the subsection of his child as together forming a *couple* of subsections. Thus the couples are A¹ D², A² D¹, B¹ C¹, B² C². If a man belongs to one subsection his child belongs to the other subsection of the same couple.

It will also be convenient to use the term *cycle* to denote the four subsections that constitute a matrilineal moiety. $A^1 C^1 A^2 C^2$ form one cycle. Thus if a woman is a^1 her daughter is c^1 , her daughter's daughter is a^2 , her daughter's daughter's daughter is c^2 , and her daughter's daughter's daughter's daughter is a^1 like herself. The two cycles are



This system of eight subsections extends over a large area, including the greater part of the Northern Territory and part of Western Australia.

There are a few tribes in the region of the Gulf of Carpentaria which really have a system of subsections, but instead of having names for the eight subsections have only names for four divisions, each of which consists of a patrilineal couple of subsections. The subsections exist but are not named. If we consider the diagram of the subsection system we have one division P corresponding to A^1 and D^2 together, Q including A^2 and D^1 , R including B^1 and C^1 , and S including B^2 and C^2 . The rules of marriage and descent can be presented in diagrammatic form as follows :



An example of this system is that of the Mara tribe, where the four divisions are named Murungun, Mumbali, Purdal and Kuial. Arranged in the form of the diagram—

Murungun α	=	Purdal β
Mumbali α	=	Kuial β
Purdal γ	=	Mumbali δ
Kuial γ	=	Murungun δ

Murungun and Mumbali together form a patrilineal moiety named Muluri, and Purdal and Kuial constitute the other moiety named Umbana. Since each of these named couples of subsections forms a half of a moiety it will be convenient to refer to them as *semi-moieties*.

That the eight subsections really exist in this system, although they are not named, can be demonstrated by examining the arrangement of marriage. Murungun men may marry either Purdal or Kuial women. Their sons divide into two groups, Murungun α who are the children of Kuial mothers, and Murungun δ who are the children of Purdal mothers. The marriage rule is that a man may not marry a woman of the same semi-moiety as his mother. Those of the first group, Murungun α , sons of Kuial women, may only marry Purdal, and those of the second group, Murungun δ , may only marry Kuial. It can be shown that in this way each of the four semi-moieties consists of two groups which are exactly equivalent to the subsections of other tribes. Spencer and Gillen have demonstrated this also, by showing the relations with respect to kinship and marriage between the tribes with the Mara system and those with eight named subsections.

What at first sight seems a quite anomalous system is found in Western Australia, in the neighbourhood of Southern Cross. Here there are two divisions, named Birangumat and Djuamat, with a rule that a man may only marry a woman of his own division, and the children must belong to the other division. This is really a modification of the system of four sections. The sections exist but are not named. Each of the named divisions is equivalent to one intermarrying pair of sections. The system may therefore be represented thus :

$$\left(\begin{array}{ll} \text{(A) Birangumat} & = \text{(B) Birangumat} \\ \text{(C) Djuamat} & = \text{(D) Djuamat} \end{array} \right)$$

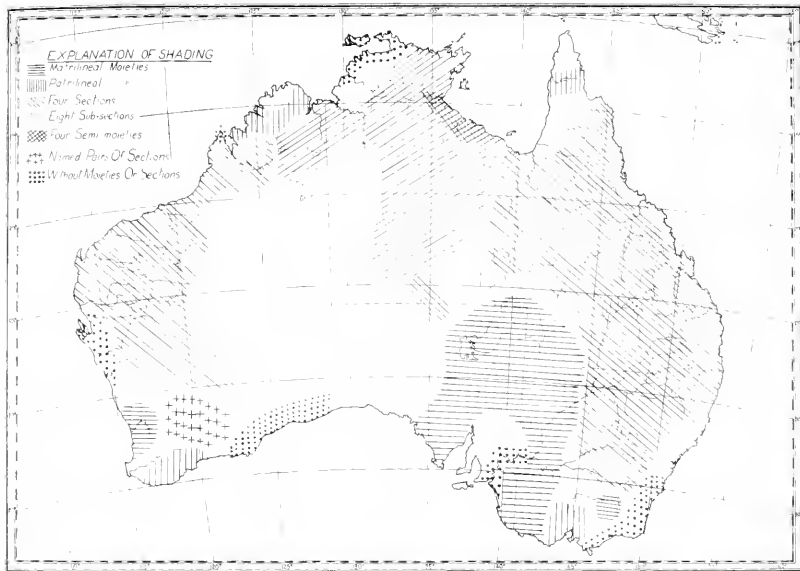
There are a few scattered areas in Australia in which there are no divisions of the kinds described above.

With reference to these named divisions we can therefore classify Australian tribes into seven groups :

1. With two matrilineal exogamous moieties.
2. With two patrilineal moieties.
3. With four sections—
 - (a) with named matrilineal moieties.
 - (b) „ „ patrilineal „
 - (c) without named moieties.
4. With eight subsections.
5. With four named patrilineal semi-moieties.



SOCIAL ORGANIZATION OF AUSTRALIAN TRIBES. MAP I.



6. With two endogamous alternating divisions (named pairs of sections).
7. Without named divisions.

The accompanying map shows the distribution of these as at present known.

A closer examination of these divisions reveals that they are composed of persons who are or who regard themselves as being related to each other by certain family relationships, and it appears that the named divisions—moieties, sections, subsections, etc.—are in each instance part of a larger whole, which will here be spoken of as the *kinship system* of the tribe. To discover what is the nature and function of the named divisions in any instance it is necessary to study the whole kinship system.

By kinship is here meant genealogical relationship recognized and made the basis of the regulation of social relations between individuals. Genealogical relationships are those set up by the fact that two individuals belong to the same family.

In Western civilization we normally think of genealogical relationships in terms of what are commonly called biological, but may perhaps better be called physiological relationships. There is an obvious physiological relationship between a woman and the child to which she gives birth. For us there is also a physiological relationship between a child and the man who is the genitor. The first of these is recognized by the Australian native, but the second is not recognized. In some tribes it seems to be denied that there is any physiological relationship between genitor and offspring. Even if in any tribes it is definitely recognized it is normally, or probably universally, treated as of no importance.

In modern English the word 'father' is ambiguous. It may be used as equivalent sometimes to Latin *genitor*, sometimes to Latin *pater*. Thus we speak of the 'father' of an illegitimate child. Such a child necessarily has a *genitor* but has no *pater*. On the other hand, when a child is adopted the male parent is his 'father,' *i.e.*, *pater* but not *genitor*.

In Australia fatherhood is a purely social thing. *Pater est quem nuptiae demonstrant*. The father and mother of a child are the man and woman who, being husband and wife, *i.e.*, living together in a union recognized by other members of the tribe, look after that child during infancy. Normally, of course, the mother is the woman who gives

birth to the child, but even this is not essential as adoption may give a child a second mother who may completely replace the first.

Thus the existence of the family in Australia as elsewhere, involves three kinds of individual relationships (1) that of parents and children, (2) that of children of the same parent or parents (siblings), (3) that of parents of the same children (husband and wife). These are what may be called relationships of the first order. But every person 'who lives to adult years normally belongs to two families, to one as child and sibling, and to another as parent and spouse, and it is this fact that gives rise to relationships of the second, third and following orders, to the whole system of traceable genealogical relationships.

This system of genealogical relationships is not itself a kinship system, but it affords the basis on which the kinship system is built. Kinship systems vary in different forms of social organization all over the world in respect of three characters ; (1) the extent to which genealogical relationships are recognized for social purposes, (2) the way in which relatives are classified and grouped, (3) the particular customs by which the behaviour of relatives, as so recognized, classified and grouped, is regulated in their dealings with each other.

In Australia we have an example of a society in which the very widest possible recognition is given to genealogical relationships. In a tribe that has not been affected by white intrusion, it is easy to collect full pedigrees for the whole tribe. Further, these genealogical relationships are made, in Australia, the basis of an extensive and highly organized system of reciprocal obligations. While amongst ourselves the question of genealogical relationship only affects our relations to a few individuals, our nearest relatives, in native Australian society it regulates more or less definitely the behaviour of an individual to every person with whom he has any social dealings whatever.

In order to study the way in which kin are classified in any tribe it is essential to study the terms used to denote relatives, for it is by means of those terms that the classification is carried out. The study of kinship terminology, tedious as it may sometimes seem, is the only way to any real understanding of Australian social organization.³

³ For the sociologist the terminology of kinship is of little or no interest in itself. Its study is only a means, though a necessary means, to the investigation of the kinship system as an element of social structure regulating the social relations (moral, economic,

Every Australian tribe about which we have information has a classificatory system of kinship terminology. That is to say, collateral and lineal relatives are grouped together into a certain number of classes and a single term is applied to all the relatives of one class. The basic principle of the classification is that a man is always classed with his brother and a woman with her sister. If I apply a given term of relationship to a man, I apply the same term to his brother. Thus I call my father's brother by the same term that I apply to my father, and similarly, I call my mother's sister 'mother.' The consequential relationships are followed out. The children of any man I call 'father' or of any woman I call 'mother' are my 'brothers' and 'sisters.'⁴ The children of any man I call 'brother,' if I am a male, call me 'father,' and I call them 'son' and 'daughter.' This first principle may be called the principle of the equivalence of brothers. It is the one essential principle of what are known as 'classificatory' systems of terminology.

The second principle applied in Australian systems of terminology is one which brings relatives by marriage within the classes of consanguineal relatives. Thus the wife of any man I call 'father' is my 'mother,' and inversely the husband of any woman I call 'mother' is my 'father.' Similarly my father's father's brother's wife is classed with my father's mother and denoted by the same term.

The third important principle in Australian systems is what can be called the non-limitation of range. In many classificatory systems the principle of the equivalence of brothers is applied only over a certain limited range. The range may be determined, for instance, by a clan. In Australia the recognition and classification of relationships is usually extended without any limit, to embrace the whole society. In a typical Australian tribe it is found that a man can define his relation to every person with whom he has any social dealings whatever, whether of his

etc.) of individuals to one another. Some ethnologists neglect to record the kinship terminology of the peoples they study. Many record a list of terms with their application and do nothing more. Such lists are of comparatively little value. The way in which relatives are classified for social purposes, although this is correlated with the terminology, cannot be inferred with any certainty, and in any detail, from that terminology. It needs to be observed.

⁴ When a term of relationship is placed within inverted commas as 'father,' it is used not as denoting an individual relationship, but as the simple equivalent of a classificatory term of the native language. Thus 'father' means any man to whom a native applies the same term of relationship that he does to his own father.

own or of another tribe, by means of the terms of relationship. In other words, it is impossible for an Australian native to have anything whatever to do with any one who is not his relative, of one kind or another, near or distant.

Every term in an Australian system of terminology may be regarded as having a primary meaning. Thus in the Kariëra tribe, although a man applies the term *mama* to a great number of men, if you ask him "Who is your *mama*?" he will reply by naming his own father. Similarly with other terms. Within the class of persons denoted by one kinship term, the individual distinguishes degrees of nearness or distance. In Western Australia the natives express this difference in English by using the terms 'close-up' and 'far-away.' A man distinguishes between his close-up and his far-away 'fathers,' 'brothers,' 'mother's brothers,' etc. These distinctions of degrees within a class are of the utmost importance in the classification of relatives for social purposes.

The classification of kin by means of the terminology is the basis on which the behaviour of one person to another in Australian society is regulated. The principle that applies here is that there is a certain uniformity in behaviour towards all relatives of one kind, *i.e.*, who are denoted by one term. In some instances the uniformity is considerable. Thus in the Kariëra tribe a man must carefully avoid having any direct social dealings with any woman he calls *toa*, this being the term he applies in the first instance to his own father's sister and his own mother's brother's wife. In other instances the uniformity is modified by the distinction of near and distant relatives of one kind. Thus in the Kariëra tribe again there is a certain pattern of behaviour to which an individual is expected to conform in his relations with his 'father.' He would behave in this way not only to his own father, but also to his close-up 'father,' *i.e.*, his father's brother. For a distant or far-away 'father,' although there would be something of the attitude towards his own father in his behaviour to him, the distance makes the relationship a much less intimate one. The behaviour to a distant 'father' is a pale reflection of that towards the actual father. However, even so, there would be a marked difference in the behaviour of a man to a distant 'father' and to a distant 'mother's brother.'

We may say, then, that in general there is a certain pattern of behaviour for each kind of relative, to which an individual is expected to conform in

his dealings with any relative of that kind, subject to important modifications according as the relationship is near or distant. For some relationships this pattern is definite and well organized, for others it is vague and comparatively less important.

The kinship system, as it regulates the whole of social life, regulates marriage. In normal Australian systems since an individual is related to every person he meets it follows that he must necessarily marry a relative, and therefore the regulation of marriage takes the form of requiring an individual to marry only persons who stand to him or her in some specific relationship.

While kinship systems all over Australia are similar in many important respects, yet in other respects there are many variations. Any systematic description of these variations necessarily requires some sort of classification. The only method of classification that is at present possible is to select certain norms and then examine the relation of each particular system to these norms. This is the procedure that will be followed here. For the present it will suffice to establish two such norms, and for this purpose I shall use the system of the Kariëra tribe of Western Australia and that of the Aranda tribe of Central Australia.⁵

The Kariëra kinship system is based on and implies the existence of the form of marriage known as cross-cousin marriage. There are really three forms of the cross-cousin marriage which might be called respectively bilateral, matrilineal and patrilineal. In the first a man is permitted or expected to marry either his 'mother's brother's daughter' or his 'father's sister's daughter.' In the second he is permitted to marry his 'mother's brother's daughter,' but not his 'father's sister's daughter.' In the third he may marry his 'father's sister's daughter' but not his 'mother's brother's daughter.' The marriage on which the Kariëra system is based is the first mentioned of these three.

⁵ The selection of these two tribes is not made haphazard. The discovery of the Kariëra system by myself in 1911 was the result of a definite search, on a surmise, made before visiting Australia, but after a careful study of Australian data in 1909, that some such system might very well exist and that Western Australia would be a reasonable place in which to look for it. I first used these two systems as norms in a short note published in the *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute* in 1913, using them to define what I called kinship systems of Type I (Kariëra) and Type II (Aranda). I now find it is not very satisfactory to continue this classification into numbered types, but further experience in dealing with Australian data has confirmed me in my choice of these two systems as norms with which to compare others.

In the Kariera system all relatives are divided into generations, and in each generation the relatives are divided into two classes of males and two classes of females, with further distinctions in some of these classes (*e.g.*, of brothers) between older and younger relatives. Thus in the second ascending generation the grandparents and their brothers and sisters, and all other relatives are divided into the following four kinds :—

1. Father's father ; with his brothers, husbands of the father's mother's sisters, and the brothers of the mother's mother.
2. Father's mother ; with her sisters, wives of the father's father's brothers, and sisters of the mother's father.
3. Mother's father ; with his brothers, husbands of the mother's mother's sisters, and brothers of the father's mother.
4. Mother's mother ; with her sisters, wives of the mother's father's brothers, and sisters of the father's father.

Each of these groups of relatives is denoted by one term of relationship. It should be noted that the mother's mother's brother is classed with the father's father, and the father's mother's brother with the mother's father. This is a determining feature of the type.

The terms for grandparents are used reciprocally for grandchildren. That is to say, my father's father applies to me (his son's son) the same term of relationship that I apply to him, and similarly with other grandparents. In other words, I classify together and include under one term my father's father and my son's son. This is another important feature of the system.

In the first ascending (parents') generation a man distinguishes four kinds of relatives.

- 'Father' including own father, father's brother, mother's sister's husband, father's father's brother's son, mother's mother's brother's son, etc.
- 'Mother' including own mother, mother's sister, father's brother's wife, mother's mother's sister's daughter, etc.
- 'Mother's brother' including the brother of any woman called 'mother' and the husband of the sister of any man called 'father.'
- 'Father's sister' including the sister of any man called 'father' and the wife of any man called 'mother's brother.'

In his own generation a man has distinct terms for older and younger brothers and for older and younger sisters, the actual relation in age

to himself being the determining factor in the use of the terms. He has names for male cross-cousins and for female cross-cousins. All persons of his own generation fall into one or other of these classes of relatives.

In the first descending (children's) generation a man again distinguishes only four kinds of relatives 'son,' 'daughter,' 'sister's son' and 'sister's daughter.'

The chart on page 49¹⁵ gives the scheme on which the relatives of a man are classified in the Karia system.

It will be seen that in the five generations there are twenty classes of relatives, two of which (brother and sister) are further subdivided on the basis of age within the generation. There are, however, only eighteen terms for these twenty-two kinds of relatives by reason of the terms for grandparents being used reciprocally for grandchildren.

The marriage rule of the Karia system is very simple. A man may only marry a woman to whom he applies the same term of relationship that he does to his own mother's brother's daughter. If it is possible for him to marry the daughter of an actual brother of his own mother he normally does so, but of course this only happens in a limited number of instances.

The Karia also have the custom of sister-exchange. When a man marries a woman his sister frequently, or indeed normally, is given as wife to his wife's brother. When this happens, if one man marries his own mother's brother's daughter then the other marries his own father's sister's daughter. As a result of this custom it sometimes happens that a man's mother's brother is married to his (*i.e.*, the man's) father's sister. The daughter, whom he may marry, is therefore at one and the same time his mother's brother's daughter and his father's sister's daughter.

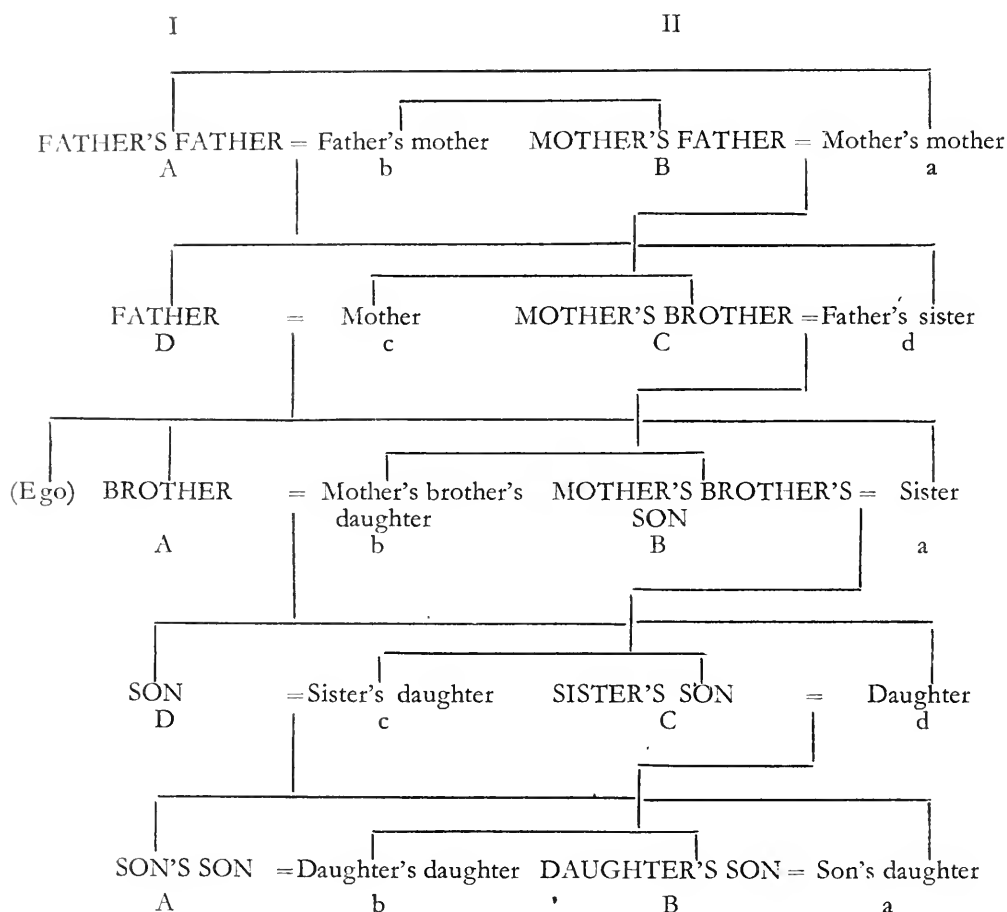
The important features of the Karia system taken as a norm are :—

- (1) the bilateral cross-cousin marriage with exchange of sisters.
- (2) the classification of all relatives in each generation into four classes, two male and two female (leaving aside the distinction of older and younger brothers and sisters) with the consequent classification of mother's mother's brother with father's father and so on.
- (3) the use of reciprocal terms between grandparent and grandchild.

THE SOCIAL ORGANIZATION OF AUSTRALIAN TRIBES

KARIERA TYPE OF KINSHIP TERMINOLOGY

Ego is Male, A



Explanation of the Chart

The chart shows the various classes into which a man's relatives are classified in a system of the Kariera type. The sign = connects husband and wife in each generation, and the descending line from that sign shows the children of any married pair. Thus it will be seen that a father's father's sister is classified with the mother's mother and her children are therefore classified with mother and mother's brother. Thus by means of the chart the classification of any relative, no matter how distant, can be immediately discovered. The chart also shows in vertical columns the two patrilineal lines of descent (I and II), and under each relative the section to which that relative belongs in a four-section system is shown by the letters A, B, C, D, Ego in the chart being taken as belonging to section A.

When we turn to the Aranda we find a much more complicated system of classification of relatives. We may say roughly, as giving a clue to the relation of the two types, that where Kariera groups together a number of relatives into one class the Aranda system divides that group into two classes.

Thus in the second ascending (grandparents') generation while Kariera has two kinds of male relatives and two of female, Aranda has four of each. Kariera classes together mother's mother's brother with father's father, but Aranda distinguishes them, making two distinct classes of relatives where Kariera has one. This may be seen from the following table :

Kariera		Aranda	
1. 'Father's father'	{	'Father's father' (1)	Father's father and his brothers, father's mother's sisters' husbands.
		'Mother's mother's brother' (4)	Mother's mother's brothers, mother's father's sisters' husbands.
2. 'Father's mother'	{	'Father's mother' (2)	Father's mother, and her sisters, father's father's brothers' wives.
		'Mother's father's sister' (3)	Mother's father's sisters, mother's mother's brothers' wives.
3. 'Mother's father'	{	'Mother's father' (3)	Mother's father and his brothers, mother's mother's sisters' husbands.
		'Father's mother's brother' (2)	Father's mother's brothers, father's father's sisters' husbands.
4. 'Mother's mother'	{	'Mother's mother' (4)	Mother's mother and her sisters, mother's father's brothers' wives.
		'Father's father's sister' (1)	Father's father's sisters, father's mother's brothers' wives.

But while Aranda distinguishes in the second ascending generation four kinds of male relatives and four kinds of female, it has not eight terms but only four. This is because the same term that is applied to a male relative is also applied to his sister. Thus the four terms of the system apply as follows :

- | | |
|------------------------------|---------------------------|
| 1. Father's father | Father's father's sister. |
| 2. Father's mother's brother | Father's mother. |
| 3. Mother's father | Mother's father's sister. |
| 4. Mother's mother's brother | Mother's mother. |

This, of course, gives quite a different alignment of relatives from the Kariera system. Kariera classifies father's father with mother's mother's brother under one term and father's father's sister with mother's mother under another. Aranda classifies father's father and his sister under one term and mother's mother and her brother under another.

Since, in the Kariera system only two kinds of male relatives are recognized in the second ascending generation that system brings all collateral relatives into two lines of descent. As compared with this the Aranda system has four lines of descent. Counting descent through males these are the lines of (1) father's father, to which Ego belongs, (2) father's mother's brother; (3) mother's father, and (4) mother's mother's brother.

In the first ascending generation, in addition to 'father,' 'mother,' 'mother's brother' and 'father's sister,' four other classes of relatives are distinguished, two male and two female. Thus the son and daughter of the mother's mother's brother are distinguished from the father and father's sister with whom they are classified in the Kariera system.

So also in the other generations the Aranda system has four kinds of male relatives and four kinds of female, where the Kariera has only two of each. The accompanying chart represents the scheme of the Aranda system.

There are not, however, in the Aranda system, or in any system of the same type, forty terms of relationship used by males. The number is reduced first by the fact that the same terms are used for grandparents and for grandchildren, secondly by the use of the same term for certain male relatives and for their sisters, thirdly by the existence of certain self-reciprocal terms. In some systems which conform to this type the number of terms is further reduced by classifying together under one term a man and his son's son or a woman and her brother's son's daughter.

We have seen that the Kariera system is correlated with a particular form of marriage. The Aranda system also requires a special marriage rule, by which a man marries his mother's mother's brother's daughter's daughter or some relative who is classified with her and denoted by the same term of relationship. Amongst the women whom a man may marry there are none of his first cousins, four kinds of second cousins (mother's mother's brother's daughter's daughter, father's mother's brother's son's daughter, father's father's sister's son's daughter, and

mother's father's sister's daughter's daughter), and certain of his third, fourth, etc., cousins.

All the relatives whom a man may marry in the Aranda system are, of course, in the Kariera system classified with his mother's brother's daughter, and are therefore possible wives. The Aranda system divides the female relatives whom a man may marry in the Kariera system into two parts, from one of which he must now choose his wife while those of the other are forbidden to him.

The easiest way to classify the kinship system of Australia is by reference to these two norms. In the Kariera type we have the bilateral cross-cousin marriage and the classification of all relatives into two lines of descent. In the Aranda system we have marriage with the mother's mother's brother's daughter's daughter, and the classification of relatives into four lines of descent.

Systems of the Kariera type are found in a limited area in Western Australia from the Ninety-Mile Beach to the Fortescue River. It is possible that a system of the same type may have existed in the now extinct tribes at the head of the Murray River. Modifications of the Kariera type are found in Arnhem Land in Northern Australia.

Systems of the Aranda type are very widespread, but there are, of course, variations in the different regions. Such are found in Western Australia (Mardudhunera, Talaindji, etc.), in a considerable area of central and northern Australia, including part of the Kimberley district, in South Australia east of Lake Eyre, in part of New South Wales, on the Murray River and in Western Victoria. These scattered regions from the West coast nearly to the East coast and from the extreme north-west to the south-east are probably parts of one continuous area over which systems of this type obtain.

In the eastern parts of Australia are found some systems which will be referred to as belonging to the Kumbaingeri type. In these the classification of kindred is like that of the Kariera type into two lines of descent. A man marries the daughter of a man who is classified as 'mother's brother,' but he may not marry the child of a near 'mother's brother' or of a near 'father's sister.' Systems of this type are found on the coast of New South Wales, and apparently in Western Queensland.

The Wikmunkan type, found in the Cape York Peninsula, agrees with the Kariera in classifying relatives into two lines of descent, but has a

special marriage rule by which a man marries the daughter of his mother's younger brother, but may not marry the daughter of his mother's elder brother.

In Western Australia at the Ninety-Mile Beach, there is a system based on or implying a marriage rule whereby a man marries his mother's brother's daughter, but may not marry his father's sister's daughter. This is the Karadjeri type.

In the north-east of Arnhem Land the system is also based on this matrilateral cross-cousin marriage, but it has a much more complicated classification of relatives than the Karadjeri, involving the recognition of seven lines of descent.

In South Australia, at the mouth of the Murray River, the system of the Yarlalde and other tribes is related to the Aranda type by its classification of kin into four lines of descent, but has a marriage rule which simply prohibits marriage with near relatives on the basis of clan relationship.

In the Western Kimberley District there is a system in the Ungarinyin tribe which has some similarity to the Yarlalde system, and like it is also based on the recognition of four lines of descent. It permits marriage with the mother's mother's brother's son's daughter.

In the north of Dampier Land, Western Kimberley, the system of the Nyul-Nyul is an aberrant type.

Throughout a considerable part of the coastal area of north-west Australia the kinship systems are modified by the existence of a special form of marriage whereby a man marries his sister's son's daughter.

We must now return to the named divisions described earlier, and consider their relation to the kinship system. When the divisions previously described—moieties, sections, sub-sections, etc.—are examined in relation to the kinship system, it is found that they consist of certain relatives grouped together.

Let us first consider the example of the Kariera. This tribe has a system of four sections—

$$\begin{array}{lcl} A & = & B \\ C & = & D \end{array}$$

If we take a man of section A we find that his own section contains all the men he called 'brother,' 'father's father' and 'son's son,' and no others. The section D contains all the men he calls 'father' or 'son.' Section C contains all his 'mother's brothers' and 'sister's sons' and section B

consists of the men he calls 'mother's father,' 'mother's brother's son' and 'daughter's son.' A female relative belongs, of course, to the same section as her brother. Thus for a man of section A all his 'father's sisters' are in section D.

The relations between the sections may be shown by a table of equivalences.

$\frac{A}{A}$	$\frac{B}{B}$	$\frac{C}{C}$	$\frac{D}{D}$	Father's father, brother, son's son.
$\frac{A}{B}$	$\frac{B}{A}$	$\frac{C}{D}$	$\frac{D}{C}$	Mother's father, mother's brother's son, daughter's son.
$\frac{A}{C}$	$\frac{B}{D}$	$\frac{C}{A}$	$\frac{D}{B}$	Mother's brother, sister's son.
$\frac{A}{D}$	$\frac{B}{C}$	$\frac{C}{B}$	$\frac{D}{A}$	Father, son.

The following chart shows the distribution of relatives through the sections :

Four Sections—Kariera Type ⁶			
A.		B.	
FATHER'S FATHER	Mother's mother	MOTHER'S FATHER	Father's mother
BROTHER	Sister	MOTHER'S BROTHER'S SON	Mother's brother's daughter
SON'S SON	Son's daughter	DAUGHTER'S SON	Daughter's daughter
C.		D.	
MOTHER'S BROTHER	Mother	FATHER	Father's sister
SISTER'S SON	Sister's daughter	SON	Daughter

We have seen that a kinship system of the Kariera type groups all relatives into two lines of descent. Tracing descent through males only, the two lines are shown as follows :

⁶ Ego is A, and male. When Ego is female there is, of course, a different alignment of relatives in the sections.

I (A + D)	II (B + C)
Father's father	Mother's father
Father	Mother's brother
Brother	Mother's brother's son
Son	Sister's son
Son's son	Daughter's son

If we trace descent through females we get two different lines of descent :

X (A + C)	Y (B + D)
Father's father (= mother's mother's brother)	Mother's father (= father's mother's brother)
Mother's brother	Father
Brother	Mother's brother's son (= father's sister's son)
Sister's son	Son
Son's son (= sister's daughter's son)	Daughter's son

The patrilineal lines of descent (I and II) constitute a pair of patrilineal moieties. The matrilineal lines of descent (X and Y) constitute a pair of matrilineal moieties. The system of four sections is constituted by the crossing of patrilineal moieties and matrilineal moieties giving four divisions in all.⁷

The rules of marriage and descent of the four-section system in the Kariera tribe are now seen to be the immediate result of the more fundamental rule that a man may only marry his 'mother's brother's daughter.' If I belong to section A my 'mother's brother's daughter' is in section B. It should be noted that there are some women in that section whom I cannot marry, those I call 'father's mother' or 'daughter's daughter' being barred, even if their relationship to me is a very distant one, and they are near my own age. While my wife must be of section B, our children must belong to section D, and they in turn marry my 'sister's children,' who are all in section C.

Let us turn now to the Aranda. In the northern part of the tribe there is a system of eight subsections.

⁷ The section A is constituted by all persons who are I and X, B by those who are II and Y, C by those who are II and X, and D by those who are I and Y.

A ¹ Pananka	=	Purula	B ¹
A ² Knuraia	=	Ngala	B ²
C ¹ Kamara	=	Paltara	D ¹
C ² Mbitjana	=	Bangata	D ²

Each of these subsections is found, on examination, to consist of groups of relatives. If any man of subsection A¹ is taken, it is found that all his male relatives are divided up amongst the eight subsections according to the accompanying chart. (Female relatives have been omitted.)

Eight Subsections—Aranda Type

Ego is A¹

A ¹	B ¹
FATHER'S FATHER	FATHER'S MOTHER'S BROTHER
BROTHER	MOTHER'S MOTHER'S BROTHER'S DAUGHTER'S SON
SON'S SON	SISTER'S SON'S SON
A ²	B ²
MOTHER'S MOTHER'S BROTHER	MOTHER'S FATHER
MOTHER'S MOTHER'S BROTHER'S SON'S SON	MOTHER'S BROTHER'S SON
SISTER'S DAUGHTER'S SON	DAUGHTER'S SON
C ¹	D ¹
FATHER'S MOTHER'S BROTHER'S SON	MOTHER'S MOTHER'S BROTHER'S SON
SISTER'S SON	MOTHER'S BROTHER'S DAUGHTER'S SON
C ²	D ²
MOTHER'S BROTHER	FATHER
MOTHER'S BROTHER'S SON'S SON	SON

From this chart it is comparatively easy to follow out the rules of marriage and descent. If I am A¹ I may only marry my 'mother's mother's brother's daughter's daughter' who is in B¹. Our children will be D².

My son marries my 'mother's brother's son's daughter' in C², and their children are in my own section A¹. My daughter marries my 'mother's brother's son's son' and their children are B². My sister marries my 'mother's mother's brother's daughter's son' of B¹, and their children are C¹.

In the southern part of the Aranda tribe there are not eight subsections, but only four sections.

A Pananka = Purula B

C Kamara = Paltara D

But as the kinship system is the same as in the northern part of the tribe, it follows that each of these four sections contains the relatives who are divided between two subsections in the north. Thus for a man of section A, his section contains the relatives of A¹ and A² in the preceding chart. Similarly section B contains B¹ and B² and so on.

It is clear therefore that the four sections in the southern Aranda are constituted very differently from the four sections of the Kariera. In the Kariera tribe a man of section A marries from section B a woman who is his 'mother's brother's daughter.' The relatives who are classified under this term amongst the Kariera are divided in the Aranda into two groups, 'mother's brother's daughter' and 'mother's mother's brother's daughter's daughter,' and when a man of section A marries into section B, it is a relative of the second kind that he must marry, and only one of that kind.

An examination of the two charts (Kariera and Aranda) will show that in both the four-section system and the eight-subsection system the principle of classification rests on the bringing together into the same section or subsection of the father's father and his son's son. Thus I and my father's father and my son's son belong to the same section or subsection. Similarly my mother's brother's son's son belongs to the same section or subsection as my mother's brother, and so on for every relative.

We have seen (page 54) that in the Kariera system all relatives fall into two lines of descent, tracing kinship through males. In the Aranda system there are four patrilineal lines instead of the two of the Kariera. These are (1) Ego's own line headed by the father's father; (2) the mother's line descended from the mother's father; (3) that of the father's mother's brother, and (4) that of the mother's mother's brother. A man marries into his father's mother's brother's line. It is in that line that his 'mother's

mother's brother's daughter's daughter' falls, since his 'father's mother's brother's son' marries his 'mother's mother's brother's daughter.' Each patrilineal line consists of one couple of subsections.

P ($A^1 + D^2$)

R ($B^1 + C^1$)

Father's father

Father's mother's brother

Father

Father's mother's brother's son

Brother

Father's mother's brother's son's son
(= Mother's mother's brother's daughter's son)

Son

Sister's son

Son's son

Sister's son's son.

Q ($A^2 + D^1$)

S ($B^2 + C^2$)

Mother's mother's brother

Mother's father

Mother's mother's brother's son

Mother's brother

Mother's mother's brother's son's son

Mother's brother's son

Mother's brother's daughter's son

Mother's brother's son's son

Sister's daughter's son

Daughter's son

It is these four patrilineal lines (P, Q, R, S), existing as absolute divisions of the tribe, that constitute the four named groups in the Mara and Anyula tribes, which I have called semi-moieties.

The Aranda system of eight subsections, of course, involves the existence of a pair of matrilineal moieties though they are unnamed. One moiety includes the subsection A^1 , A^2 , C^1 and C^2 , and the other includes B^1 , B^2 , D^1 and D^2 . These have been referred to earlier in this paper as cycles.

The above comparison of the Kariera and Aranda systems has, I hope, been sufficient to show (1) that the sections and subsections are part of the systematic classification of relatives, and can only be understood when they are considered as such, and (2) that two tribes may both have a system of four sections, even with the same names, and yet have very different kinship systems and very different regulation of marriage. The information that a tribe has two, four or eight divisions

tells us very little about the social organization or the system of regulating marriage of that tribe. Thus we can find the same type of kinship system with the same method of regulating marriage (the Aranda system) in tribes with two moieties (Dieri), in tribes with four sections (Talaindji), in tribes with eight subsections (Waramanga), and in tribes with four named semi-moieties (Mara). On the other hand, of two adjoining tribes both with a system of four sections, as the Ngaluma and the Mardudhunera, one has a kinship system of the Kariera type while the other has a system of the Aranda type.

Let us now turn to a consideration of the relation between the kinship system and the local organization. We have seen that all over Australia the important local group is what is here called the horde, and that the latter, so far as its male members are concerned, is strictly patrilineal.

In the Kariera tribe we find that all the men of any given horde belong to a single line of descent. My own horde contains only men who are 'father's father,' 'father,' 'brother,' 'son,' or 'son's son' to me. On the other hand all the men of my mother's horde belong to the other line of descent. The persons belonging to a horde by birth all belong to the same patrilineal moiety. Moreover my own horde contains all my nearest relatives in the paternal line, my father's own brothers, etc. And my mother's horde contains all my nearest relatives through my mother.

We can therefore say that in the Kariera tribe, connected with each horde there is a clan. I have defined a horde as consisting of all men born into the horde together with their wives and unmarried daughters. The clan connected with the horde consists of all persons born in the horde. The male members of the clan all remain in the horde from birth to death. The female members of the clan remain with the horde till they are married and then are transferred to other hordes.⁸

This system of local clans is not confined to the Kariera tribe. We have very little information about the composition of the horde in the great majority of tribes, but evidence is accumulating that the system of patrilineal local clans was widespread in Australia, and may even be

⁸ This distinction between the horde and the associated local clan is, I think, a very important one to make and to keep in mind. A horde changes its composition by the passing of women out of it and into it by marriage. At any given moment it consists of a body of people living together as a group of families. The clan has all its male members in one horde, but all its older female members are in other hordes. It changes its composition only by the birth and death of its members.

regarded as a normal, though not quite universal, feature of Australian social organization.

In some parts of Australia there is found a system of matrilineal clans. The clan consists of a body of people who are or who regard themselves as being closely related through females. The clans are totemic, *i.e.*, they are identified by being each named after or connected with some species of animal or plant. Children belong to the clan of the mother, and consequently the members of a clan are found scattered through the tribe.

These matrilineal totemic clans can, of course, exist in the same tribe with a system of patrilineal local clans and there is evidence that in some tribes the two clan systems did co-exist.

To complete this account of the social organization of Australia it is necessary to make a brief reference to the subject of totemism. Throughout Australia we find, with many local variations, a system of customs and beliefs by which there is set up a special system of relations between the society and the animals and plants and other natural objects that are important in the social life. Some of these customs and beliefs it is usual to include under the term 'totemism.'

In the strict and narrow sense of the term the 'social structure' of a people consists of the system of formal grouping by which the social relations of individuals to one another are determined, *i.e.*, it is a grouping of human beings in relation to one another. But there is also a larger structure in which the society and external nature are brought together and a system of organised relations established, in myth and ritual, between human beings and natural species or phenomena. It is impossible to give any succinct account of this social structure in the wider sense as it appears in Australia, as this would require a systematic treatment of the ritual and mythology. There are, however, some aspects of it that need to be mentioned.

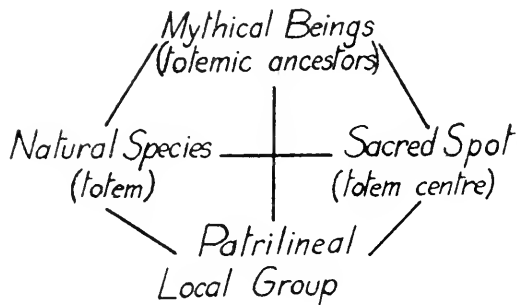
One of the most important kinds of totemism (if it is to be called such) found in Australia is that constituted by the existence of what we may call, for lack of a better term, local totem centres. The essential basis of this is the existence of certain sacred spots each of which is associated with some natural species, and which is regarded as the 'home' or 'life-centre' of that species. Such a spot is what is meant by a 'totem centre.' The totem centre is generally a natural feature, very frequently

a water-hole, sometimes a rock or a tree or clump of trees, occasionally an arrangement of stones that is obviously artificial but is not regarded as such by the natives. When the totem is a species of animal or plant, the totem centre is always a spot in the vicinity of which the species is abundant. The objects that are treated as totems in this way are the animals and plants that are used for food and for other purposes, other natural species such as mosquitoes, also rain, fire, hot weather, cold weather, winds, the rainbow-serpent, high-tide, babies, diseases, and occasionally artificial objects such as stone-axes, nets, etc.

Normally, if not universally, there is an association between the totem centres and certain mythical beings who are believed to have existed at the beginning of the world, and who were responsible for the formation of the totem centres.

Every totem centre lies, of course, in the territory of some horde, and there is therefore a special connection between the members of the horde and the totem. Usually each horde possesses a number of different totem centres, some of them more important than others.

In its normal forms, therefore, this type of totemism is based on an association of four things.



In most of the tribes that have this form of totemism there is a system of localised rites for the increase of natural species, each local totem centre having its own rite, performed usually by members of the clan or horde to which the totem centre belongs.

It is convenient to denote these rites by the term *tal* by which they are known in some tribes of Western Australia (Kariara, etc.) The so-called *intichiuma*, properly *mibanbiuma*, rites of the Aranda tribe are of this type.

There is another system of rites which are not localised, *i.e.*, not performed at a given spot, but have local references to the totem centres. These are representations of the doings of the totemic ancestors, and are really myths dramatically represented.

In some of the tribes having this totemism of local totem centres there is a special connection between each individual and some one

totem. This may take the form of a conception that the individual is a reincarnation of one of the totemic ancestors or the incarnation of an emanation from the totem centre.

This form of totemism seems to be very widespread in Australia. It was first studied in detail in the Aranda tribe by Spencer and Gillen. Since then it has been found to extend over a large part of Western Australia. From the Aranda it extends to the extreme north of the continent on the one side, and to the tribes about Lake Eyre (Dieri, etc.) on the other. Miss McConnel has made a study of this type of totemism in the Wikmunkan tribe of the Cape York Peninsula. Recently it has been found in the almost extinct tribes of the east coast in northern New South Wales and southern Queensland. It seems very probable that it extended through the now extinct tribes of the south-east coastal districts as far as Victoria. Far from being confined to the centre of the continent, as has been sometimes supposed, it is found also in the extreme west, the south-east, the north-east and the north.

Another class of customs to which it is usual to apply the term totemism consists of the use of natural species (generally animals) as representatives of social divisions. In some instances the division is named after its animal representative. In the south-east of the continent each of the two sex-groups has as its representative a species of animal. For example, in the coastal regions of New South Wales the bat is the representative or sex-totem of the men, and the tree-creeper (*Climacteris* sp.) that of the women. In several regions the moieties are named after or closely associated with species of animals; for example, eaglehawk and crow, crow and white cockatoo, white cockatoo and black cockatoo, native companion and turkey, hill kangaroo and long-legged kangaroo. Similarly in the Southern Cross district of Western Australia the alternating endogamous divisions (pairs of sections) are named after two species of birds. In some of the tribes with four sections and in some of those with eight subsections, each section or subsection has a species of animal specially associated with it as its representative.

In northern and in south-eastern Australia there are tribes with matrilineal, and therefore not localised, clans, each clan being named after or represented by a natural species, generally a species of animal.

In some parts there are patrilineal local clans that have each its totem, or representative species, but, so far as we know, without the system of

local totem centres described above. An example is the Yarlalde tribe.

Another important element of the structural system in which man and natural objects are united in Australian tribes consists of a classification of natural species in relation to the social structure. Just as each human being has his own place in the social structure, belonging to a particular moiety, section, clan, so each of the important natural species is allotted its place as belonging to a particular moiety, section or clan. The mode of classification varies, of course, from one region to another.

We have completed our general survey of the forms of social structure in Australia. Individuals are united together into groups on the basis of sex and age, of community of language and customs (tribe), of possession and occupation of a territory (horde), and on the basis of kinship and marriage (family, clan, section, moiety). This grouping determines the relations of individuals to one another in the social and economic life.

One of the tasks of culture is to organize the relations of human beings to one another. This is done by means of the social structure and the moral, ritual and economic customs by and in which that structure functions. But another task of culture is to organize the relation of man to his environment. In Australia this involves a system of customs and beliefs by which the human society and the natural objects and phenomena that affect it are brought into a larger structure, which it is very important to recognize, but for which it is difficult to find a suitable name. The function of much of the myth and ritual is to maintain or create this structure. What is commonly called totemism is part of this structural system.

It should be noted that the most important determining factor in relation to this wider structure is the strong social bond between the horde or local clan and its territory. The strong local solidarity, which is the most important thing in the social life of the Australians, is correlated with a very strong bond between the local group and its territory. There is an equally strong and permanent association between the territory and the animals and plants that are found on it. It is this intimate association of a group of persons with a certain stretch of country, with its rocks and water-holes and other natural features, and with the natural species that are abundant in it, that provides the basis of that totemism of local totem centres that is so widespread and so important in the Australian culture.

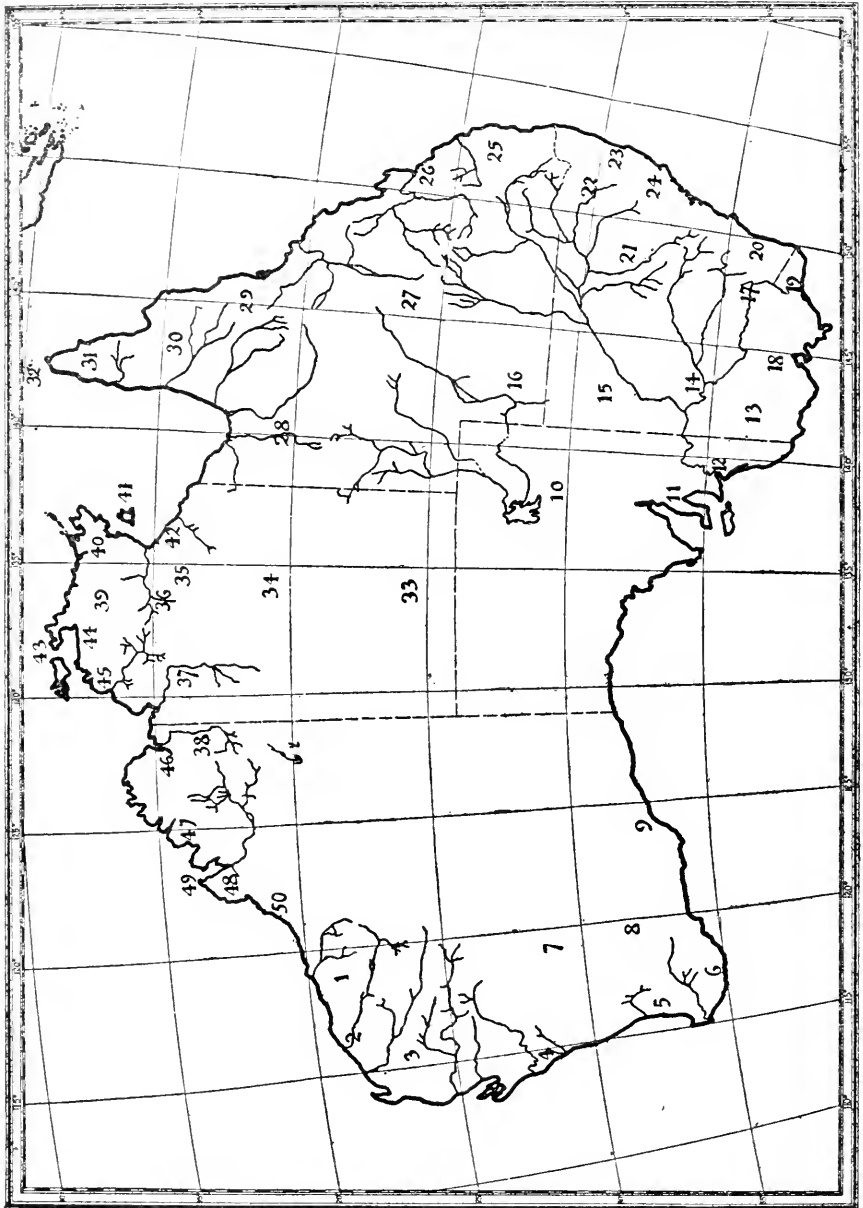
PART II

IN the first part of this paper I have given a brief generalized description of Australian social organization. In this second part I shall give what is really only a systematic catalogue of the various types or varieties of that organization with which we are at present acquainted. On the accompanying map (Map 2) there are indicated fifty numbered areas which will be dealt with in order. For many of these areas our information is very scanty, and for some of them it is now too late to obtain any reliable information. Nevertheless it seems worth while to make this catalogue of types or areas as complete as possible. Where information is more abundant considerations of space forbid the inclusion of more than the briefest possible outline.

For each area references are given to the literature dealing with the social organization. Considerations of space make quite impossible any critical examination of the earlier writers. It should be noted, however, that many of the accounts given of Australian social organization are inaccurate, or by their incompleteness are misleading. Thus the statements of Howitt or of R. H. Mathews must not be accepted without careful criticism; many of them are derived from informants who are decidedly unreliable. Howitt himself is often responsible for much confusion. Thus, to give one example, he uses the word "tribe" sometimes to refer to what is here called a tribe, sometimes to refer to a local subdivision of a tribe, and sometimes to refer to a group consisting of a number of tribes with the same word for "man."

In the spelling of tribal names an endeavour has been made to introduce a uniform system. The exact pronunciation cannot of course be indicated except by the use of special letters and diacritical marks. It is hoped that it may be possible later to publish a glossary of native tribes with the pronunciation indicated wherever it is precisely known. In

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION OF AUSTRALIAN TRIBES. MAP II



some instances we have to try to guess from the spelling of earlier writers what the pronunciation may have been. Uniformity, however, is desirable even if the spelling finally adopted is possibly not as correct as could be wished.

1. Kariera Type.

This area consists of a part of Western Australia at the southern end of the Ninety-Mile Beach, and includes the region drained by the De Grey River and a considerable part of the country on both sides of the Fortescue River. The same form of social organization is found in a number of tribes, namely the Ngerla, Kariera, Ngaluma, Indjibandi, Pandjima, Bailgu, and Nyamal, and probably also the Ngadari, Wirdinya, Targudi, Ibarga, Widagari and Nangamada.

Each tribe is distinguished from its neighbours by the possession of a name and a language. To some extent there are variations in custom from one tribe to another. The extent of territory held by a tribe varies somewhat. The Kariera occupy between 3500 and 4000 square miles. A tribe is divided into hordes, each with its own defined territory. Membership of the horde is determined by descent in the male line; that is to say, a child belongs to the horde of its father and inherits hunting rights over the territory of the horde. The horde is exogamous and since marriage is apparently always patrilocal a woman changes her horde on marriage, passing from that of her father to that of her husband. There are no specific names for the hordes, but any given horde can be identified by naming any of the important camping places of its territory. It is difficult to make any accurate estimate of the extent of country occupied by each horde. Taking into account all the evidence obtainable, the average extent of a horde territory may be estimated at something under 200 square miles. The Kariera tribe seems to have contained between twenty-one and twenty-five hordes each occupying between 150 and 200 square miles.

It is also very difficult to form an estimate of the former population. What evidence is available would suggest that the former density of population cannot have been less than one person to five square miles, *i.e.*, a density of 0.2, each horde containing from thirty persons upwards, and tribes varying in volume from 500 persons upwards.

All the tribes of this area have a system of four sections with the

names Banaka, Burung, Karimera and Paldjeri, or phonetic variants of these. In the Kariera and Ngaluma tribes the arrangement of the sections⁹ is

$$\left(\begin{array}{lcl} \text{Banaka} & = & \text{Burung} \\ \text{Karimera} & = & \text{Palyeri} \end{array} \right)$$

In the Nyamal, Bailgu, Pandjima and Indjibandi tribes the names are similar but the arrangement of the sections is different, being

$$\left(\begin{array}{lcl} \text{Banaka} & = & \text{Karimera} \\ \text{Burong} & = & \text{Padjeri} \end{array} \right)$$

In the Ngerla tribe natives from the country adjoining the Kariera tribe gave the Kariera arrangement as their own, while others from near the Nyamal gave the Nyamal arrangement. An informant of the Targudi tribe gave me the section system of that tribe as being

$$\left(\begin{array}{lcl} \text{Banaka} & = & \text{Palai} \\ \text{Burunga} & = & \text{Kaimera} \end{array} \right)$$

In the Nangamada tribe, which apparently belongs to this group, the sections are

$$\left(\begin{array}{lcl} \text{Banaka} & = & \text{Kaimera} \\ \text{Burong} & = & \text{Milanga} \end{array} \right)$$

The arrangement is the same as the Nyamal, the name Milanga taking the place of Padjeri.

We find here a condition that recurs in other parts of the continent, in which neighbouring tribes have the same names for the sections, but the arrangement of the sections, and consequently the rules of marriage and descent are different. Marriages between the two tribes are then arranged by regarding a given section in the one tribe as equivalent to a certain section in the other. The equivalence of sections between the Kariera and Nyamal, as shown by genealogies, is

Nyamal		Kariera
Banaka	is equivalent to	Palyeri
Burong	„ „ „	Burung
Karimera	„ „ „	Karimera
Padjeri	„ „ „	Banaka

The tribes of this area have kinship systems of the Kariera type, in

⁹ This and other tables of sections are to be read in the same way as the diagram of sections given in the first part of this paper, page 7.

which a man marries a woman who stands to him in the relationship of 'mother's brother's daughter' or 'father's sister's daughter.' Marriage of actual first cousins is approved and is indeed regarded as the proper form of marriage, though of course it only occurs in a limited number of instances. In all the tribes there is exchange of sisters, *i.e.*, a man's sister is given to his wife's brother in return for the latter's sister.

In this area the individuals born in one horde constitute a patrilineal local clan. Thus in the Kariera tribe in one horde all the persons belonging to that horde by birth will belong to one or other of the couple of sections Banaka and Palyeri, while all the women who have come into the horde by marriage will belong to the other couple of sections Karimera and Burung. In another horde the position will be reversed, the persons born in the horde being Karimera and Burung while their wives are Banaka and Palyeri. The local clan is therefore necessarily an exogamous group. A man cannot marry a woman born in the same horde as himself.

Each local clan is also, in a certain sense, a totemic clan, having a number of totems. In the territory of each horde are found a number of totemic centres, called *tal* in Kariera, each of which is specially associated with one or more species of natural object. Those natural species for which totem-centres exist in the country of a horde can be spoken of as being the totems of the horde or of the local clan. There is no prohibition against eating or using one's totem. Associated with each *tal* or totem-centre, there is a ceremony which is believed to produce an increase of the totem. Thus at a kangaroo centre a ceremony can be performed for the purpose of making kangaroos more plentiful. The ceremony at a given centre is the possession of the clan to which that centre belongs and is performed by the men of that clan. There is a system of myths which recount how the various totem-centres came into existence as the result of the doings of certain mythical ancestors. It may be noted that a totem-centre is usually a spot in the neighbourhood of which the totem species is very plentiful.

There are traces in these tribes of a system of section totemism. In the Pandjima tribe the euro or hill kangaroo is named *padjeri*, which is also the name of one of the four sections, and it is regarded as belonging to that section. An informant of this tribe stated that the crow and the rock wallaby are Banaka, while the eaglehawk and the plains kangaroo are

Burung. In this tribe, and in the Indjibandi, terms of relationship are applied to the animals that are thus associated with the sections. Thus an Indjibandi man of the Padjeri section called the hill kangaroo (*padjeri*) *maiali*, father's father; the eaglehawk, being Burong, he called *tami*, mother's father, and so on.

1. Withnell, J. G., *The Customs and Traditions of the Aboriginal Natives of North-Western Australia*. Roebourne, 1901.
2. Clement, E., and Schmelz, J. D. E. Ethnographical Notes on the Western Australian Aborigines. *Int. Arch. für Ethnographie*, xvi, 1903, 1-29.
3. Brown, A. R. (Radcliffe-Brown, A. R.). The Distribution of Native Tribes in Part of Western Australia. *Man*, xii, 1912, 75.
4. Brown, A. R. (Radcliffe-Brown, A. R.). Three Tribes of Western Australia. *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, xliii, 1913, 143-194.
5. Bates, Mrs. D. M. Social Organization of Some Western Australian Tribes. *Report of the Australasian Association for the Advancement of Science*, xiv, 1913, 387-400.

2. Mardudhunera Type.

This area contains only one tribe, the Mardudhunera of the lower part of the Fortescue River. It has a system of four sections with the arrangement

$$\left(\begin{array}{l} \text{Banaka} = \text{Kaimera} \\ \text{Boongo} = \text{Paldjeri} \end{array} \right)$$

The kinship system is the same as that of the next area to be considered (Talaindji type) and approximates to the system of the Aranda. Marriage with the daughter of the mother's brother or of the father's sister is prohibited and the proper marriage is that with a second cousin.

The totemic system of the Mardudhunera tribe is similar in all essentials to that of the area just described (Karia type). Thus the tribe itself is in an intermediate position between the Karia type and the Talaindji type, having the totemic system of one and the kinship system of the other.

Brown, A. R. (Radcliffe-Brown, A. R.). Three Tribes of Western Australia. *J.R.A.I.*, xliii, 1913, 175-190.

3. Talaindji Type.

This area consists of the country lying on both sides of the Ashburton River for the lower two-thirds of its course and extends southerly to the Gascoyne River. It contains eleven tribes, the Noala, Talaindji,

Binigura, Tjuroro, Burduna, Djiwali, Tenma, Warienga, Targari, Baiong and Maia.

Each tribe is divided into hordes, a horde owning and occupying an area of apparently less than 200 square miles.

These tribes have a system of four sections with the arrangement

$$\left(\begin{array}{lcl} \text{Banaka} & = & \text{Kaimera} \\ \text{Burong} & = & \text{Paldjeri} \end{array} \right)$$

This is the same as that of the Mardudhunera.

The kinship system bears a fairly close relation to the Aranda type. A man may not marry his cross-cousin, the daughter of his mother's brother or of his father's sister. The marriage rule may be most simply stated by saying that the proper persons to marry are those whose mothers are cross-cousins. This means that a man marries the daughter of the mother's brother's daughter or of the father's sister's daughter of his mother. This is, of course, the marriage rule of the Aranda type.

A man of the Banaka section should marry a woman of the Kaimera section, but many of the women of that section even in his own generation are forbidden to him. In the Paldjeri section in the generation above his own he distinguishes two classes of male relatives. One class includes his father and his father's brothers, whom he calls *babu*. The other includes his mother's mother's brother's son and others whom he calls *talgu*. The sister of any *babu* is *mogul*, father's sister. The sister of any *talgu* is called *yanyi*. Kaimera women are the daughters of Paldjeri women. A man may properly marry any woman who is the daughter of a *yanyi*, but may not marry the daughter of a *mogul*. The *talgu*, i.e., the man who is potential or actual wife's mother's brother, is an important relative in this system.

In any kinship system of the Aranda type it is often difficult for a man to find a wife of the proper relationship to him. Consequently many tribes have found it necessary to make some arrangement by which alternative marriages, i.e., marriages not strictly in accordance with the primary rule of the system, may be arranged and recognized. The permitting of such alternative marriages of course involves some adjustment of the kinship system. In general it may be said that it is necessary, where such marriages take place, to trace the relationships of the children through one parent only to the exclusion of the other.

In this area such alternative or irregular marriages have taken place. The general principle adopted has been to trace the relationship of the children of such marriages through the mother only. In the native phrase they "throw away the father." Thus if a Banaka man marries a Paldjeri instead of a Kaimera the children will be reckoned as Kaimera through the mother. If their section was determined by that of the father, they would of course be Paldjeri, as Banaka and Paldjeri form one patrilineal couple.

In the southern tribes of the area, Maia and Baiong, the frequency of irregular marriages had by 1911 resulted in a partial breaking down of the kinship organization. At least this was the most plausible explanation of the condition found in those tribes. Some individuals did not seem to be at all sure of the proper section rule and seemed even uncertain of their own section. It would seem also that this process had begun before the white occupation and the consequent diminution in the native population, though of course it has certainly been greatly hastened by these factors. It is obvious that a process of this kind must ultimately lead to the disappearance of the four sections, and, unless the society is to become completely disintegrated, the establishment of some new form of kinship organization.

In the case of the Ingarda tribe to the south of the Gascoyne River it was impossible to determine if they really had or had not a section system. They knew the names of the sections of the Maia and Warienga tribes and every man claimed membership of a particular section. But it did not seem that the section system was really existent as a functioning element of the kinship organization. They might once have had such a system which had broken down or they might merely be trying to adapt themselves as well as possible to the social organization of the neighbouring tribes.

The totemic system of these tribes is based on the existence of local totem-centres with rites for the increase of the totem. Each horde possesses within its territory one or more totem centres, and at each centre the members of the horde perform rites for the increase of the totem. In the Noala, Talaindji and Binigura tribes the term for totem-centre is *talū*. In the more southerly tribes it is *tauara*. To find out a man's totem or totems one must ask, "What is your *talū* or *tauara*?" and to this question he replies either by naming the spot where the totem-centre is

situated or by mentioning the totem species. In conversation a native often refers to his totem as his "elder brother."

Each horde, or rather the patrilineal clan connected with it, is a separate independent totemic group. But these clans are grouped together into a number of what may be called inter-tribal totemic divisions. Each division has a name, with two forms, masculine and feminine. There are altogether nine such divisions in the whole area, but some of them are not found in all the tribes. The Kadjardu division (fem. Ngadjuri) is found in all the tribes. Any local clan that has rain as its totem belongs to this division. Similarly any group that has the fire, sun, and hot weather totem belongs to Waleri (fem. Wilari). The Wariera (fem. Ngogodji) division includes all clans with an emu totem, and all the eagle-hawk clans belong to Wiardji (fem. Mambula). The Wilyaru (fem. Ngwolyi) division is found only in the southern tribes, while the divisions Yirgu (fem. Yerbidji), Mirdirba (fem. Ngalgudji) and Tambula (fem. Murdari) are absent in the south, *i.e.*, in the Maia and Baiong tribes.

In a list of seventeen local clans of the Baiong tribe, which is probably not complete, there are three Kadjardu clans, seven Waleri, one Wariera, three Wiardji, and three Wilyaru.

These totemic divisions provide a classification of human beings and also a classification of natural species. The classification of nature varies somewhat in different tribes. The Kadjardu division represents water or moisture, and therefore such things as water birds, frogs, water plants, and grass-seed (an important item of food the dependence of which on rain is very obvious) are Kadjardu. Similarly since Waleri has for its principle fire and heat, things that are specially associated with hot weather, such as snakes and lizards belong to this division. But for some of the other divisions it has not been possible to discover any simple principle by which things are classified under one or other. Different stars, or portions of the sky, are connected with the various totemic divisions. The inter-tribal totemic divisions are thus connected with a philosophy of nature that is of considerable interest in connection with the study of totemism.

The mythology accounts for the formation of the totem-centres by the mythical ancestors, and this seems to have been affected by the existence of the inter-tribal divisions. Thus Yauardamai (Burduna) or Kar-

damai (Baiong) seems to be the special culture-hero of the Kadjardu division.

So far as the social organization is concerned the inter-tribal totemic divisions linked up different local clans into what may be called cult groups. For the most part it would seem that the increase rite for any totem was carried out at the totem-centre by the clan to which that centre belonged, but in some instances it was an inter-horde or even inter-tribal affair. Thus the most famous rain totem-centre is at Bibindji, a permanent pool on the Ashburton River. It was at this spot that Yauardamai was speared in a fight with another ancestor. In former times a ceremony for making rain used to be held here at which Kadjardu men from several tribes used to be present and take part.

Since the local clan is strictly patrilineal it follows that the totemic divisions are also patrilineal. It may be noted that in these tribes a person is not generally addressed by the term of relationship, as is usual in Australian tribes, but by the name of the totemic division to which he or she belongs.

In the Warienga tribe there is a trace of section totemism. One informant stated that the hill kangaroo belonged to Banaka, the plains kangaroo to Karimera, the crow to Burong and the eaglehawk to Paldjeri, while another informant substituted two different kinds of wallaby, *walaindja* and *weanu*, for crow and eaglehawk as the representatives or totems of Burong and Paldjeri.

1. "Yabaroo," *Aborigines of North-West Australia*. Perth 1899.
2. Mathews, R. H. *Ethnological Notes on the Aboriginal Tribes of Western Australia*. *Queensland Geographical Journal*, xix, 1904, 45-72.
3. Brown, A. R. (Radcliffe-Brown, A. R.). *The Distribution of Native Tribes in Part of Western Australia*. *Man*, xii, 1912, 75.
4. Bates, Mrs. D. M. *Social Organization of Some Western Australian Tribes*. *Report of the Australasian Association for the Advancement of Science*, xiv, 1913, 387-400.
5. Radcliffe-Brown, A. R. *Unpublished Field Notes*, 1910-1912.

4. Nanda Type.

South of the Gascoyne River a strip of country on the coast was formerly occupied by tribes which differed in some respects from the inland tribes behind them, for instance in not practising circumcision and subincision in their initiation ceremonies. One of these tribes was the

Nanda, which inhabited the coast round what is now the town of Northampton.

About the social organization almost nothing is known: it would seem that there were neither sections nor moieties, but even this is not certain. The kinship system has not been determined. A Nanda informant told me in 1910 that a man was not permitted to marry his *wadjira*, that being the term applied to cross-cousins.

The Nanda tribe has patrilineal totemic groups, which were probably related to the hordes in the same way as in the tribes further north, all the men of a horde and all the children born in the horde having the same totem or totems. Ceremonies for the increase of the totem species were formerly performed and were localized. Thus an emu ceremony was performed at Tjinbarda near Northampton, and rain ceremonies at Wilugabi (*wilu*=curlew, *kabi*=water) a pool near the coast near Geraldton.

The Ingarda tribe which occupied the country immediately south of the Gascoyne River would seem to belong to this type rather than to the Talaindji type.

5. ———

This area consists of a portion of the south-west of Western Australia, bounded by the west coast, from about Jurien Bay to somewhere in the neighbourhood of Cape Leeuwin, and extending inland in the latitude of Perth for 150 miles or more. The names of the tribes that formerly occupied the region are not known, and little is known with any certainty about the social organization.

It is difficult to reconcile the statements of the early observers, Sir George Grey and Bishop Salvado, with the later accounts of Mrs. D. M. Bates and with the scanty information I was able to glean in 1910, and there is not space here for a critical discussion.

Throughout the area the natives were divided into two exogamous moieties named Manitjmat and Wardangmat, after *manitj*, white cockatoo, and *wardaj*, crow. (These moieties were first recorded for this region by Mrs. Bates, but were not observed by Grey or Salvado.) In addition to the moieties there were other matrilineal divisions with names Balarak, Tondarap, Didarak, etc. The number of these cannot be determined with certainty. Mrs. Bates thinks there were really only four, Tondarap

and Didarak belonging to the Manijmat moiety and Balarak and Nagarnuk to the Wardangmat. But this conflicts with the information given by Grey and by Salvado.

The kinship system has not been fully recorded, but my own information, which is woefully incomplete, led me to the conclusion that it was apparently not of the Kariera type but might perhaps be near to the Aranda type.

Since these tribes possessed the normal division into patrilineal hordes, and the moieties and the named divisions mentioned above were matrilineal, it follows that each horde contained men of both moieties and of more than one named division. I gathered a little evidence, not conclusive, that the horde was exogamous.

The named divisions, Balarak, etc., may perhaps be regarded as being totemic. Grey says that they derived their names, at any rate in some instances, from animals. Thus the Nagarnuk were named after a small fish, *nagarn*, and the Balarak after a small species of opossum, *balard*. Grey also reports statements of the natives that these "families" as he calls them had their origin in species of birds transformed into men. Thus the Ngotak are derived from the widgeon, the Nogonyuk from the mountain duck, the Didarak and Tondarap from two species of waterfowl, and the Balarak from the swan.

I obtained evidence that natural species were classified under these divisions. Thus the tree used for making spears belongs to the Tondarap division.

Besides these matrilineal totemic divisions, if we are to regard them as such, there was another system of totemic groups. Mrs. Bates states that every person had a totem denoted as *borong* and that the totems were hereditary and that "they belonged to the holders of the totem's waterholes, or to the occupants of the land in the vicinity of these waters." As the land was possessed by the hordes and inherited in the male line, it follows that these totems would be patrilineal.

My own information agrees partly but not entirely with this statement. There was a system of local totemic centres or totemic districts similar to that which we have noted in the tribes already described. The whole country, in other words, contained a number of roughly defined districts each of which was associated with some particular species of plant or animal which was plentiful in it. My best informant stated that

an individual had as his totem the species associated with the district in which he was born. Thus my informant's father was Manitjmat and Tondarap and had as his totem the swan (*mali* or *kulyak*). His mother was Wardangmat and Balarak and her totem was an acacia (*men*) of which the gum is used for food. My informant was Wardangmat Balarak like his mother. He was born in a *kwamar* country near Beverley and this was therefore his totem.¹⁰ It is possible that when my informant spoke of the country in which he was born he may have meant that in which he was *conceived*, but that this might be so only occurred to me when it was too late to pursue enquiries further.

Though this seems to conflict with the statements of Mrs. Bates, I think it does not really do so. Probably the territory of each horde included several totemic centres or districts, which would therefore all belong to the same patrilineal horde. Normally, a child would be born in one of the districts of the father's horde and there would therefore be a sort of patrilineal determination of the totem. It would seem that persons of both matrilineal moieties and of any matrilineal divisions might have the same totem (*borongur*) but even this is not quite certain.

There is a little evidence, not quite satisfactory, that there were localized ceremonies of *talū* type for the increase of the totem species.

It is unlikely that we shall be able to obtain any further information about these tribes. We can only affirm that they possessed (1) a division into matrilineal moieties, (2) other matrilineal divisions of a totemic or quasi-totemic character, and (3) a system of local totem-centres, probably with increase rites of the *talū* type, the totem of an individual being normally determined through the patrilineal horde. We meet here the first example of a social organization with a double system of totemism (one system matrilineal, the other patrilineal) of which we shall find other examples. It is doubtless the complexity of the system that is responsible for the ambiguity of the statements of Grey, the earliest observer.

1. Grey, G. *A Vocabulary of the Dialects of South-Western Australia*. London, 1840.
2. Grey, G. *Journals of Two Expeditions of Discovery in North-West and Western Australia during the years 1837, 38 and 39*. 2 Vols., London, 1841.

¹⁰ *Kwamar* is the name of a honey-bearing flower from which the natives made a sweet drink by soaking the flowers in water.

3. Moore, G. F. *Descriptive Vocabulary of the Language in Common Use among the Aborigines of Western Australia*. London, 1842.
4. Salvado, Rudesino. *Memorie Storiche dell'Australia*. Rome, 1851.
5. Salvado, in Curr, *Australian Race*. Vol. 1, page 321.
6. Moore, G. F. *Diary of an Early Settler in Western Australia*. London, 1884.
7. Bates, Mrs. D. M. The Marriage Laws and Some Customs of the West Australian Aborigines. *Victorian Geographical Journal*, xxiii-xxiv, 1905-6.
8. Bates, Mrs. D. M. Social Organization of Some Western Australian Tribes. *Report of the Australasian Association for the Advancement of Science*, xiv, 1914, 387-400.
9. Bates, Mrs. D. M. Tribus du Sud-Ouest de L'Australie. Traduit de L'anglais par Maurice Delafosse. *Revue d'Ethnographie*, iv, 1923, 225-240.
10. Radcliffe-Brown, A. R. Unpublished Field Notes, 1910-1912.

6. ———

This region consists of the south coast of Western Australia from somewhere about Cape Leeuwin to a point somewhere west of Esperance. Nothing is known about the social organization except that there were patrilineal moieties having the same names, Manitjmat and Wardangmat, as the matrilineal moieties of region 5.

1. Browne, James. Die Eingebornen Australiens, ihre Sitten und Gebräuche. *Peterman's Mitteilungen*, ii, 1856, pp. 443-454.
2. Curr, E. M., *The Australian Race* (Vol. 1, p. 386).
3. Nind, Scott, Description of the Natives of King George's Sound. *Journal of the Royal Geographical Society*, i, 1832.
4. Mathews, R. H. Ethnological Notes on the Aboriginal Tribes of Western Australia. *Queensland Geographical Journal*, xix, 1904, 45-72.
5. Bates, Mrs. D. M. Tribus du Sud-Ouest de l'Australie. *Revue d'Ethnographie*, iv, 1923, 225-240.

7. ———

From Mount Jackson northward through the Murchison district and to Peak Hill, and extending eastward into the arid country there are tribes about which we know practically nothing except that they have the system of four sections. The section names are similar to those of the tribes between the Gascoyne and De Grey Rivers—Banaka, Paldjeri, Kaimera, Burong. But in some tribes Banaka is replaced by Burgulu and in some Paldjeri is replaced by Taruru.

1. Bates, Mrs. D. M. Social Organization of some Western Australian Tribes. *Report of the Australasian Association for the Advancement of Science*, xiv, 1913, 387-400.

2. Mathews, R. H. Native Tribes of Western Australia. *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society*, xxxix, 1900, 123-125.
3. Mathews, R. H. Ethnological Notes on the Aboriginal Tribes of Western Australia. *Queensland Geographical Journal*. xix, 1904, pp. 45-72.
4. Mathews, R. H. Notes on the Aborigines of the Northern Territory, Western Australia and Queensland. *Queensland Geographical Journal*, xxii, 1907, 1-13.

8. ———

In a region around Southern Cross, extending northwards to Mount Jackson, eastwards to Coolgardie and south-easterly nearly to Esperance, there was another form of social organization which has been recorded by Mrs. Bates.

The tribes of this region, of which the tribal names are not known, are divided into two alternating endogamous divisions. One division is named Birangumat, from *biray*, a species of kingfisher, and the other is named Djuamat from *dju*, the bee-eater, *Merops ornatus*. The rule of marriage is that a Birangumat must marry a Birangumat and their children are Djuamat. Inversely Djuamat marries Djuamat and the children are Birangumat.

In this system we have a special modification of the system of four sections, in which the sections are unnamed, but there is one name for each intermarrying pair of sections. The organization may be represented thus—

$$\left(\begin{array}{lcl} \text{Birangumat A} & = & \text{Birangumat B} \\ \text{Djuamat C} & = & \text{Djuamat D} \end{array} \right)$$

Thus each of the two divisions really consists of two parts corresponding to the sections of other tribes. That this is really so is shown by the fact that to the north of Coolgardie there are tribes with a four-section system.

$$\left(\begin{array}{lcl} \text{Burong} & = & \text{Kaimera} \\ \text{Ibarga} & = & \text{Tharuru} \end{array} \right)$$

and that the Birangumat division is regarded by the natives as equivalent of the two sections Burong and Kaimera taken together, while the Djuamat division is equivalent to the sections Tharuru and Ibarga. By means of these equivalences inter-marriage between the tribes having the different systems is regulated.

Mrs. Bates has collected a few terms of kinship, but the information

given is not sufficient to permit us to determine the nature of the kinship system.

These tribes had a system of totemism, but again our knowledge of it is inadequate. Mrs. Bates states that boys inherit the totem of their father and girls that of their mother, but some unpublished genealogies collected by Mrs. Bates herself do not confirm this.

Bates, Mrs. D. M. *Organization Sociale des Birangoumat et Djouamat (Australie Occidentale)*, Traduit de L'anglais par Maurice Delafosse. *Revue d'Ethnographie*, vi, 1925, 27-40.

9. ———

Eastward of Esperance there is a group of tribes in which, as far as information goes, there are neither moieties nor sections. Mrs. D. M. Bates informs me that in this region the people are divided into totemic groups, each having a name formed from that of the totem with the addition of the suffix wak, as Dwerdawak (*dwerda*=dingo) Gumalwak (*gumal*=grey opossum). The real nature of these groups is unknown.

Bates, Mrs. D. M. Unpublished Field Notes, 1912.

10. Dieri Type.

This area includes a considerable portion of the colony of South Australia. Throughout it there is a system of matrilineal moieties with the names Kararu and Materi, or dialectic variants of these. The best known tribe of the area is the Dieri on the east of Lake Eyre.

The Dieri have a kinship system of the Aranda type. The description of it given by Howitt from information supplied by Siebert is not entirely satisfactory. An account of the kinship system of the Arabana (Urabunna) has been given by Spencer and Gillen, but a critical examination suggests that by reason of its incompleteness it is probably inaccurate, and that the Arabana system may well be very similar to the Dieri.

The totemic system of the Dieri is interesting and important as it combines a series of matrilineal totemic groups with a series of patrilineal totemic groups. Each of the two moieties is divided into a number of matrilineal totemic clans. The members of a given clan are, of course, scattered throughout the tribe. These matrilineal totems are called *midu*.

There is also a system of patrilineal totemic clans, each of which is associated with one locality. A man inherits from his father his *pintara*.

This is a relationship to a particular natural species (the totem), to a particular spot or district which is the totem-centre, to a *mura-mura*, i.e., a mythical being associated with the totem-centre, to certain songs (*mura-wima*) which relate to this mythical being, and to a rite which has for its purpose to increase the totem species. This patrilineal totemism is in essentials similar to the totemism of local totem-centres and increase rites already described for Western Australia.

A man also bears a special relation to the *pintara*, i.e., the patrilineal totem of his mother, which is his *maduka*. Further, a child may be given a name which has reference to the matrilineal totem (*madu*) of his father.

Spencer and Gillens' account of the totemism of the Arabana is probably inaccurate. It would seem likely that this tribe has the same double system of totemism as the Dieri.

A sociological survey of this area is at present (1930) being carried out by Dr. Elkin.

1. Schurmann, Rev. C. W., *The Aboriginal Tribes of Port Lincoln*, Adelaide, 1846. (Reprinted in Woods, *Native Tribes of South Australia*, Adelaide, 1879, 207-252.)
2. Gason, Samuel, *The Manners and Customs of the Dieyerie Tribe of Australian Aborigines*, 1874. (Reprinted in Woods, *The Native Tribes of South Australia*, Adelaide, 1879, 253-307; and in Curr, *The Australian Race*, 1886, ii, 44-105.)
3. Howitt, A. W., The Dieri and Other Kindred Tribes of Central Australia. *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xx, 1891, 30-104.
4. Spencer, Baldwin, and Gillen, F. J., *The Native Tribes of Central Australia*, 1899 (Urabunna).
5. Spencer, Baldwin, and Gillen, F. J., *The Northern Tribes of Central Australia*, 1904 (Urabunna).
6. Howitt, A. W., *Native Tribes of South-East Australia*, 1904 (44, 91, 158, 175, etc.).
7. Eylmann, Erhard, *Die Eingeborenen der Kolonie Südaustralien*, Berlin, 1908.
8. Brown, A. R. (Radcliffe-Brown, A. R.), The Relationship System of the Dieri Tribe, *Man*, xiv, 1914, 33.
9. Stirling, Sir Edward, and Waite, E. R., Description of Toas, or Australian Aboriginal Direction Signs, being an abstract from the J. G. Reuther Manuscript. *Records of the South Australian Museum*, i, 1919, 105-155.
10. Horne, G., and Aiston, G., *Savage Life in Central Australia*, London, 1924.
11. Siebert, Otto, in *Globus*, xcvi, 48-49.
12. Reuther, J. G., Manuscript in the South Australian Museum.

II. ———

This area includes the tribes on both sides of St. Vincent Gulf in

South Australia. These tribes are now extinct, and we know almost nothing about their social organization.

For the tribe on Yorke Peninsula we have brief statements from two sources. The Rev. W. J. Kühn, who calls the tribe the Turra, stated that there were patrilineal moieties divided into patrilineal totemic clans. From the accounts of T. M. Sutton, published by himself and by Howitt, we can only gather that there were a number of patrilineal totemic groups. These, according to Sutton, were not exogamous. A man might marry a woman of the same totem as himself. The totems appear to have been localized, for Sutton states that the tribe was divided into four local divisions, each having its own totems.

Nothing is known about the social organization of the tribes about Adelaide.

1. Fison and Howitt, Kamilaroi and Kurnai, Melbourne, 1880 (284).
2. Sutton, T. M., The Adjahdurah Tribe of Aborigines on Yorke Peninsula. *Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society of Australia; South Australian Branch*, 1887-8 (17-19).
3. Howitt, A. W., Native Tribes of South-East Australia, 1904. (Narrangga, 67, 130).

12. Yaralde Type.

This area consists of the lower portion of the Murray River and includes two groups of tribes. In one group the word for 'man' is *yarindjeri*, and the group has been usually referred to in the literature of Australian ethnology as the Narrinyeri. It consists of several tribes, the Yaralde, Tanganalun and one or two other tribes which formerly occupied the lakes at the mouth of the Murray, and the Portaulun and Ngaraltu on the Lower Murray itself. In the other group the word for 'man' was *meru*. The 'Meru' tribes are the Nganguruku, Ngaiyau, Nyauaitj, Yirau, Yuyu and Ngintaitj.

Throughout this area there is an absence of moieties or sections. The important social group is the patrilineal totemic local clan. The Yaralde tribe included somewhat more than twenty such clans.

The only kinship system that has been thoroughly studied is that of the Yaralde tribe. This, while not strictly speaking of the Aranda type, has a very close relation to that type. It distinguishes the same four lines of descent as the Aranda type, namely those from the father's father, mother's father, mother's mother's brother and father's mother's brother.

These lines of descent are traced out, however, not over the whole tribe, but through the clans with which an individual is related. Thus all the members of Ego's own clan belong to his own line of descent, and all those of his mother's clan to the second line. For his father's mother's clan he has a single term of relationship which he applies to all members of that clan irrespective of generation. Similarly for his mother's mother's clan he has another term which he applies to all members of the clan.

The rule of marriage is that a man may not marry into his own clan, his mother's clan, his father's mother's clan, his mother's mother's clan, these four clans representing the four lines of descent of kinship systems of the Aranda type. But he also may not marry into the clans of his father's father's mother or his mother's father's mother. In other clans there are women whom he may not marry because they stand in certain genealogical relationships to him.

The Yarlalde system of kinship is thus different in an important respect from the majority of Australian systems in that it does not prescribe marriage within a certain class of relatives, but establishes a series of prohibitions and permits marriages with any woman who does not fall under these. Yet a study of the Yarlalde system shows that it is very closely related to systems of the Aranda type, and cannot reasonably be supposed to have developed independently of those. The special determining principle of the Yarlalde system is the greater emphasis laid on the local clan and the autonomy given to it within the system. We shall find the same principle at work, giving rise to somewhat similar results in part of the Kimberley District of Western Australia.

There is no evidence of local totem-centres or increase rites in these tribes. They have, however, been so long under the influence of white settlement that we cannot be quite sure that such did not exist.

1. Taplin, Rev. George, *The Narrinyeri*, Adelaide, 1873. (Reprinted in Woods, J. D., *The Native Tribes of South Australia*, Adelaide, 1879, 1-156.)
2. Taplin, Rev. George, *The Folklore, Manners and Customs of the South Australian Aborigines*, Adelaide, 1879.
3. Curr, E. M., *The Australian Race*, Melbourne, 1886. (II. 242-271).
4. Howitt, A. W., *The Native Tribes of South-East Australia*, 1904, (130).
5. Eylmann, Erhard, *Die Eingeborenen der Kolonie Südastralien*, 1908.
6. Brown, A. R. (Radcliffe-Brown, A. R.), Notes on the Social Organization of Australian Tribes. *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, xlviii, 1918, 222-253.

13. Tjapwurong Type.

This area includes the western part of Victoria and a small part of South Australia east of the Murray River. The native population is almost, if not quite extinct. It is impossible now to determine the names of the tribes that formerly occupied the region. Most of the names recorded by earlier writers as names of "tribes" are really names of subdivisions of tribes, possibly sub-tribes. Such are the names given by Brough Smyth and Howitt. Amongst those given by Dawson Tjapwurong (spelled by him Chaap Wuurong) would seem to be probably a true tribal name.

The whole area would seem to have possessed the same type of social organization, of which the different accounts are unsatisfactory and somewhat confused. There were two matrilineal moieties with the names Krokidj and Kamadj, or phonetic variants of these.

A list of kinship terms of the Tjapwurong was published by Dawson. This list suggests that the tribe had a kinship system of the Aranda type, or one closely related to that type. Howitt's account of the rules of marriage of the Wotjobaluk would also possibly fit in with a system of Aranda type. On the other hand Howitt's account of the marriage rules of the Jupagalk suggest a kinship system of the Kumbaingeri type. A man marries a woman who stands to him in the same general relationship as 'mother's brother's daughter,' but she may not be a near relative and must come from a distant locality. A similar statement was made to me in 1914 by a native of Kingston. The term there for mother's brother's son and daughter are *naritji* and *narikuri*, and my informant stated that a man would marry one of his *narikuri*, but not the daughter of his own mother's brother nor any woman from his own part of the country. Such a statement, without a complete study of the kinship system, which it is now too late to make, cannot, of course, be regarded as being at all conclusive. It seems quite certain, however, that throughout this whole region marriage with the mother's brother's daughter and the father's sister's daughter was forbidden, and that a man was not allowed to marry into his own, *i.e.*, his father's horde, nor into his mother's horde, and must always obtain a wife from some horde that was distant from his own.

In some parts of this area, and probably throughout the whole of

it the moieties were divided into matrilineal totemic clans. It would seem that in some, or all of the tribes, the totemic clans were associated with different points of the compass. There was a classification of a large number of natural species, these being divided in the first instance into two parts corresponding to and belonging to the two moieties, and those of each part being further subdivided between the clans.

1. Fison, L., and Howitt, A. W., *Kamilaroi and Kurnai*, 1880, (168-169.)
2. Smith, Mrs. James S., *The Booandik Tribe of South Australian Aborigines*, Adelaide, 1880.
3. Dawson, James, *The Australian Aborigines*, Melbourne, 1881.
4. Smyth, B. Brough, *The Aborigines of Victoria*, 2 vols., Melbourne, 1878.
5. Howitt, A. W., *The Native Tribes of South-East Australia*, 1904.
6. Mathews, R. H., Ethnological Notes on the Aboriginal Tribes of New South Wales and Victoria. *Journal of the Royal Society of New South Wales*, xxxviii, 1904, (286-304).

14. Wati-wati Type.

This area includes a number of small tribes on the Murray River and extending some way up the Murrumbidgee River. The tribal names are in most instances formed by reduplication from the word 'No' in the language of the tribe. The best known tribes are the Karin or Kerinma, the Laitju-laitju, Tatati or Tati-tati, Waka-waka, Mati-mati, Wati-wati, Wamba-wamba and Baraba-baraba.

Some of these tribes, and possibly all of them, had matrilineal moieties, with the same names, Makwara and Kilpara, as in the next area to be described (15). Those lower down the river, and possibly the others also, had matrilineal totemic clans, each moiety being subdivided into a certain number of clans. A list of kinship terms of the Wati-wati tribe published by Cameron suggests strongly that this tribe had a kinship system of the Aranda type.

1. Beveridge, Peter, Of the Aborigines Inhabiting the Great Lacustrine and Riverine Depression of the Lower Murray, Lower Lachlan and Lower Darling. *Journal of the Royal Society of New South Wales*, xvii, 1883, 19-74.
2. Cameron, A. L. P., Notes on Some Tribes of New South Wales. *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xiv, 1884, 344-370.
3. Brown, A. R. (Radcliffe-Brown, A. R.), Notes on the Social Organization of Australian Tribes. *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, xlviii, 1918, (249-250.)

15. Bakandji Type.

This area includes the country on both sides of the Darling River from its junction with the Murray to about Bourke. It is characterized by the matrilineal dual division with the moiety names Kilpara and Makwara, and matrilineal totemic clans. For the rest we know practically nothing about the social organization.

1. Bonney, Frederic, On Some Customs of the Aborigines of the River Darling. *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xiii, 1884, 122-136.
2. Mathews, R. H., The Group Divisions and Initiation Ceremonies of the Barkunjee Tribes. *Journal of the Royal Society of New South Wales*, xxxii, 1898, 241-255.
3. Howitt, A. W., *Native Tribes of South-East Australia*, 1904, (29-50, 98-100).
4. Mathews, R. H., Bemerkungen über die Eingebornen Australiens. *Mitteilungen der Anthropologischen Gesellschaft in Wien*, xxxvi, 1906, 167-168.
5. Brown, A. R. (Radcliffe-Brown, A. R.), Notes on the Social Organization of Australian Tribes. *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, xlviii, 1918, (248-9 Maraura tribe).

16. —————

This area, consisting of the extreme south-west part of Queensland, is one about which very little is known. It would seem that it has matrilineal moieties with the names Kulpira and Tinewa (or Yungo and Matara for the Kurnandaburi tribe) and possibly matrilineal totemic clans.

1. Mathews, R. H., Divisions of the South Australian Aborigines. *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society*, xxxix, 1900, 78-93.
2. Howitt, A. W., *Native Tribes of South-East Australia*, 1904. (Yantruwunta, Kurnandaburi.)
3. Mathews, R. H., The Origin, Organization and Ceremonies of the Australian Aborigines. *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society*, xxxix, 1900, 556-578.
4. Mathews, R. H., Ethnological Notes on the Aboriginal Tribes of Queensland. *Queensland Geographical Journal*, xx, 1905, 49-75.

17. Ngarigo Type.

On the tablelands of the country where the Murray River takes its rise there was a small group of tribes now extinct. Howitt mentions three tribes, the Ngarigo, the Wolgal, and the Yaitmathang, the last-named being divided into the Theddora-mittung and the Kandangora-

mittlung. Mathews gives three tribes with the names Ngarrugu, Walgalu and Dhudhuroa.

Of the social organization of these tribes we know very little. Howitt states that they were divided into matrilineal moieties named after the eaglehawk and the crow, the moieties being subdivided into matrilineal totemic clans. With regard to marriage Howitt states that "a man's proper wife was the daughter, own or tribal, of his mother's brother." A man might marry a woman of any totem of the other moiety. This suggests a kinship system of the Kariera type, but in the absence of more detailed information it is not safe to put too much weight on Howitt's bare statement.

Howitt, on apparently insufficient evidence, considers the Biduelli to have had a matrilineal organization similar to the Ngarigo and Wolgal.

1. Howitt, *Native Tribes of South-East Australia*, 1904, (77, 101).
2. Mathews, Vocabulary of the Ngarrugu Tribe. *Journal of the Royal Society of New South Wales*, xlii, 335.

18. Woeworung Type.

This area of Victoria, from Port Philip to the Murray River seems to have contained seven tribes, the Woeworung, Bunwurung or Bunurong, Wudjawurung, Djadjawurung, Tagunwurung and Bangerang. Each tribe was divided into a number of local groups which may perhaps be regarded as sub-tribes. Thus, according to Parker, there were seven such groups in the Djadjawurung, and Howitt enumerates five for the Woeworung. Parker calls the tribes "petty nations," and applies the term tribe to what are here called sub-tribes, and states that the territory of each sub-tribe was divided between smaller groups which he calls "families," but which would seem to have been patrilineal hordes of the normal Australian type. Howitt applies the term "tribe" indiscriminately to both tribes and sub-tribes.

These tribes had patrilineal moieties named after the eaglehawk and the crow. If Howitt's statements can be relied upon, all the members of the Woeworung tribe belonged to the crow moiety, and all those of the Bunwurung tribe to the eaglehawk moiety, so that by the rule of moiety exogamy, a man of the one tribe had to obtain a wife from the other.

The kinship system is not known, but according to a statement of

Howitt, cross-cousin marriage, *i.e.*, marriage between the children of a brother and a sister, was prohibited.

It seems that these tribes had some system of patrilineal totems, but we know practically nothing about its place in the native life.

1. Parker, E. S., *The Aborigines of Australia, a Lecture*, 1854.
2. Smyth, R. Brough, *The Aborigines of Victoria*, 2 vols., 1878.
3. Curr, Edward H., *Recollections of Squatting in Victoria*, Melbourne, 1883, (Bangerang).
4. Curr, *The Australian Race*, 1886, (iii, 523-527, 567-568).
5. Howitt, A. W., *Native Tribes of South-East Australia*, 1904, (70, 126),
6. Mathews, R. H., Ethnological Notes on the Aboriginal Tribes of New South Wales and Victoria. *Journal of the Royal Society of New South Wales*, xxxviii, 1904, (297-304).

19. ———

This area contained five tribes which are called by Howitt the Kurnai, from the word for "man." They had neither moieties nor sections. Howitt's incomplete account of the kinship system does not suffice to permit us to discuss its relation to other Australian systems. The terminology conforms to systems of Aranda type in the classification of grandparents, and this would suggest some sort of modification of an Aranda system. If Howitt is correct in stating that cross-cousins, *i.e.*, mother's brother's children and father's sister's children, were called "brother" and "sister," and in the implication that there were no other terms by which these relatives could be distinguished from brothers and sisters, we must conclude that the kinship system differed in important respects from any other known in Australia.

These tribes had a system of patrilineal totems, about which, however, we have no detailed information.

1. Smyth, R. Brough, *The Aborigines of Victoria*, 2 vols., 1878.
2. Fison, L., and Howitt, A. W., *Kamilaroi and Kurnai*.
3. Howitt, A. W., *Native Tribes of South-East Australia*, 1904.

20. ———

This area consists of the coastal districts of the southern part of New South Wales. Comparatively little is known about the now extinct tribes that inhabited it. They had neither moieties nor sections. The kinship system has not been properly recorded. A statement by Mathews

and Everitt, which cannot be regarded as very reliable, would indicate the existence of a rule of marriage different from any other that has been found in Australia. According to these authors, a man marries the daughter of his *father's* female cross-cousin, *i.e.*, he marries his father's mother's brother's daughter's daughter, or his father's father's sister's daughter's daughter. It is possible that there has been a confusion in the interpretation of the statements of the native informants, and that these tribes really had the Aranda rule, by which a man marries the daughter of his *mother's* female cross-cousin. It is at any rate now too late to study the social organization of these tribes. There was a rule that a man must obtain a wife from some locality distant from his own.

These tribes had patrilineal totemic clans which were possibly localized. In addition they seem to have had a system of personal totems similar to that of area 21 (Kamilaroi type).

- 1 Mathews, R. H., and Everitt, Miss M. M., The Organization, Language and Initiation Ceremonies of the Aborigines of the South-East Coast of New South Wales. *Journal of the Royal Society of New South Wales*, xxxiv, 1900, 262-281.
2. Howitt, A. W., *Native Tribes of South-East Australia*, 1904 (Yuin or Murring tribes, 81, 133, 261).

21. Kamilaroi Type.

This area consists of the eastern portion of the Murray-Darling basin. It was formerly occupied by a number of tribes of considerable size, the Wiradjeri, Wongaibon, Kurnu, Murawari, Baranbinya, Weilwan, Yularai, and Kamilaroi. Some of these tribal names are formed from the word for 'No' in the language of the tribe, *wira*, *wongai*, *weil*, *yual*, *kamil*.

In all the tribes of this area there are four sections with the names Ipai, Kambu, Mari and Kabi, with feminine forms Ipatha, Butha, Matha and Kabitha. But we shall see that the articulation of the sections with the kinship system is not the same in some parts of this area as it is in Western Australia. The matrilineal moieties, Ipai-Kambu and Kabi-Mari have names in some of the tribes. In the Wongaibon tribe the former is Kilpungara, and the latter Makangara. In parts of the Kamilaroi tribe the first is Kupatin, and the second is Dilbai.

In each tribe the matrilineal moiety, whether named or not, is subdivided into a number of matrilineal totemic clans.

The kinship systems of these tribes are to be classified as belonging to the Aranda type, although they differ in some points from the actual system of the Aranda tribe. They are in general fairly similar to the system of the Talainji tribe in Western Australia. The basis of the marriage regulation is that the proper persons to marry are the children of two female cross-cousins, so that a man marries his mother's mother's brother's daughter's daughter, or his mother's father's sister's daughter's daughter.

It is not possible to give a simple statement of the marriage rule in terms of the sections for some of the tribes of this area. The descent of the sections is matrilineally determined. Thus the children of an Ipatha woman are always Kambu and Butha, and those of a Butha woman are always Ipai and Ipatha, and similarly for the sections of the other moiety. But in some of the tribes a man of one section was not limited in seeking a wife to one other section. The reason for this is that kinship, and consequently marriage are determined by the totemic clan in combination with the sections. In the Wiradjeri and Wongaibon tribes, and apparently also in the Weilwan, the system was as follows: A man might not marry into any clan of his own moiety. He might, apparently, marry into any clan of the other moiety, but in some clans he must take a wife only from one section, and in others only from the other section of the moiety. Thus a Wongaibon informant who belonged to the Kabi section of the bandicoot clan, if he married into the emu clan, or the padimelan clan, might only marry an Ipatha woman. Whereas, if he married into the opossum clan, or into the mallee hen, brown snake or monitor lizard clans he might only marry a Butha woman. Every individual in these tribes can tell you what is the proper section for him to marry into in any clan.

Thus in these tribes the sections are not subdivisions of the whole tribe as they are in Western Australia, but are subdivisions of the totemic clans.

Apparently this condition was not present in the Yularai tribe. It would seem that so far as marriages within the tribe were concerned, an Ipai might only marry a Kabitha of any totem, and a Kambu might only marry Matha, the section system being

Ipai	Kabi
Kambu	Mari

The system of the Kamilaroi tribe, if we may accept the early accounts of it, was different from either the Yularai or the Wiradjeri. A man of the Ipai section and emu totem could marry a Kabitha of the kangaroo, opossum or iguana clans. But he might also marry an Ipatha of the black snake clan, thus marrying into his own section and moiety.

Throughout a large part, or perhaps the whole, of this area, there was a further subdivision of the society. Each totemic clan is divided into two parts, one called quick-blooded and the other slow-blooded (Gwaigalir and Gwaimandhan). These divisions also affected kinship and marriage. Thus a Wongaibon man of the Kabi section and of the Gwaigalir blood of the bandicoot clan had a father who was Kambu, emu, Gwaigalir. Consequently he was closely related through his father to all persons of the Gwaigalir division of the emu clan, and so could not marry one of them. But this relationship did not carry over to the Gwaimandhan division of the clan, so that he was not debarred from marrying a woman of that clan so long as she was of the Ipatha section and of the Gwaimandhan blood.

It is now probably too late to obtain any further information about the exceptional marriage rules of the Kamilaroi. The system of the Wiradjeri and Wongaibon tribes can perhaps be interpreted as the result of a combination of the kinship system of the Aranda type with a system of large matrilineal clans. These totemic clans provide an inter-tribal organization since a man of any totem regards all other persons of that totem as his kin on the mother's side, quite irrespective of the tribe to which they belong.

There is no evidence in this area for the existence of local totem-centres with increase rites.

The system of totemic clans provides a basis for the classification of natural species. Besides the animal that gives its name to the clan, a number of other natural species are regarded as specially belonging to the clan. These may be called subsidiary totems. In part of the area, centering apparently in the Weilwan tribe, the totem clans are grouped in two divisions called Ngarawan and Muambuam. The latter includes all animals having fur, and, therefore, the bandicoot, opossum and kangaroo clans belong to this division. The former includes all animals having scales, so that all snake, fish, or lizard clans belong to it. Birds are divided between the two, the duck, *wirbara*,

for example being Ngarawan. These divisions possibly affect the relations between the different clans.

Throughout this area there is a system of personal totems. Any man or woman who wishes to acquire skill in magic must acquire a special relation to some species of animal which becomes his or her personal totem. Magical power depends on this possession of one or more personal totems. No one will kill or eat his or her personal totem.

The tribes of this area also have sex totems, the bat being the totem of the man, and the night-owl that of the woman.

1. Ridley, Rev. Wm., *Kamilaroi, Dippil and Turrubal: Languages spoken by Australian Aborigines*, Sydney, 1866.
2. Fison and Howitt, *Kamilaroi and Kurnai*, 1880.
3. Mathews, R. H., The Totemic Divisions of Australian Tribes. *Journal of the Royal Society of New South Wales*, xxxi, 1897, 154-176. (Kamilaroi, Wiradjuri.)
4. Howitt, A. W., *Native Tribes of South-East Australia*, 1904.
5. Mathews, R. H., Ethnological Notes on the Aboriginal Tribes of New South Wales and Victoria. *Journal of the Royal Society of New South Wales*, xxxviii, 1904.
6. Parker, K. Langloh, *The Euablayi Tribe*, London, 1905.
7. Mathews, R. H., Ethnological Notes in the Aboriginal Tribes of Queensland. *Queensland Geographical Journal*, xx, 1905, 49-75.
8. Mathews, R. H., Sociology of Some Australian Tribes. *Journal of the Royal Society of New South Wales*, xxxix, 1905, 104-123.
9. Mathews, R. H., Notes on Some Native Tribes of Australia. *Journal of the Royal Society of New South Wales*, xl, 1906, 95-129 (Kurnu).
10. Mathews, R. H., *Notes on the Aborigines of New South Wales*, Sydney, 1907.
11. Radcliffe-Brown, A. R., Notes on the Social Organization of Australian Tribes. Part ii. *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, liii, 1923, 424-447.
12. Radcliffe-Brown, A. R., Unpublished Field Notes, 1930.

22. Anewan Type.

Adjoining the Kamilaroi tribe on the east, and occupying the northern plateau of New South Wales and its western slopes, was a group of tribes, now practically extinct, about the organization of which it is too late to discover much of importance. The tribes in question were the Amberu, Anewan, Kwiambal, Yukambal, Ngarabal and Bigambal.

These tribes had a system of four sections with section names related to those of the Kamilaroi. In Kwiambal and Yukambal we find the name Baia or Baiangu in place of Mari, but the feminine form of the name is

Matjang, which is a variant of Matha. For Ipatja we have Ipatjang or Patjang, and Butanga and Kaputja for Butha and Kabitha. The arrangement of the sections in these two tribes seems to have been—

Kapi	=	Ipai
Baia	=	Kambu

In the Anewan tribe the section names were =

Irong	feminine	Arkan
Arpong	„	Iran
Iyong	„	Patjang
Imbong	„	Irakena

The arrangement of the sections was =

Irong	=	Iyong
Arpong	=	Imbong

The kinship system of these tribes has not been determined, and it is therefore impossible to say anything definite about the regulation of marriage, except that marriages normally took place in accordance with the diagrams shown above.

The totemic system of these tribes differed from that of the tribes to the west (Kamilaroi, etc.), and also from that of the tribes to the east (Kumbaingeri, etc.). Every man and woman had a totem, called *gir* in Yukambal and Ngarabal, *bakar* or *bagar* in Kwiambal and *kara* in Anewan. Some of my informants claimed two species of animals as being their totems. It would seem that each totem is specially connected with one of the four sections, and can only be the totem of men and women of that section. It follows, of course, that a child can never have the same totem as either his father or his mother, and this was stated to me by one informant as being the rule. Siblings, *i.e.*, brothers and sisters by the same parents, have the same totem. Though I have interviewed the few survivors of these tribes that I could find, I have been unable to obtain any reliable account of how the totem of a child is determined. The following examples illustrate the distribution of totems in a few families :

Yukambal.—Billy Munro, Baia, totem *malian*, white-headed eaglehawk ; his wife, Butanga, totem *miridjin*, big river turtle ; their son, Ipai, totem *malian*, black eaglehawk ; Mrs. Munro's mother, Patjang, totem *gunur*, big jew lizard.

Yukambal.—Towney, Ipai, totems *dandur*, walaroo and *gunur*, lizard ;

his mother, Butjang, totem *darandi*, female kangaroo ; his wife, Kaputja, totem *geriergen*, chicken-hawk ; his children, Baia and Matjang, their totem, Towney thinks, should be the flying squirrel.

Kwiambal.—William and Donald Strong, two brothers, Baia, totem *jurunve*, red kangaroo according to William, but stated, probably wrongly, by Donald to be *malian*, white-headed eaglehawk ; their father, Ipai, totem *tandur*, walaroo ; their mother, Kaputja, totem *gupir*, opossum.

Anewan.—Joe Woods, Imbong, totem *bonda*, kangaroo and *nula*, black snake ; his father, Irong, totem *ilumera*, walaroo or *akan*, crow ; his mother, Patjang, totem *ilambai*, eaglehawk ; his wife, Iran, totem *tinunda*, large ground iguana ; Joe does not remember what his children should be.

In these tribes every medicine-man had a personal totem, called *daral* in Anewan, similar to the personal totems of the tribes of the Kamilaroi type.

1. Mathews, R. H., The Totemic Divisions of Australian Tribes. *Journal of the Royal Society of New South Wales*, xxxi, 1897, 154-176 (Anaywan).
2. Radcliffe-Brown, A. R., Unpublished Field Notes, 1930.

23. Kumbaingeri Type.

This area consists of a part of the coastal region of New South Wales from the Clarence River in the north to a point south of the Macleay River. The chief tribes are the Kumbaingeri, Banbai, Dangati, Ngamba and Ngaku. Probably two small tribes on the lower Clarence River, the Yiegera and the Yuungai, should also be included in the area.

These tribes had the normal local organization into patrilineal hordes, each with its own territory (*tjagun* in Kumbaingeri, *dawun* in Dangati). As we shall see, the horde is exogamous.

There is a system of four sections with the names Karbung, feminine Guran ; Wambung, feminine Wirgan ; Marung, feminine Kargan ; and Wirung, feminine Wangan.

The arrangement of the sections is—

Karbung	Wambung
Marung	Wirung

The section names are related to those of the Kamilaroi area, Karbung = Kabi, Marung = Mari, Wambung = Kambu, Wirung = Ipai.

The kinship system of these tribes is of a type that we have not met

before, which I propose to call the Kumbaingeri type. The classification of kin is to some extent carried out on the same general principles as in the Kariera type. But marriage is prohibited with own mother's brother's daughter, or own father's sister's daughter. A man marries a woman who belongs to the same section and generation as his mother's brother's daughter, and who is, according to the terminology, a relative of the same kind. But she must come from another part of the country, and must not be closely related to him. The normal procedure was described to me as follows. A woman who is 'father's sister' to a boy, possibly his own father's sister, would look out for a wife for him. Finding a woman who was her 'sister,' but not closely related to herself or her nephew, she would induce the latter to promise her daughter in marriage to the boy. From this moment this woman becomes the boy's mother-in-law, and he must avoid her. It is, therefore, preferable that he should never have met her before the arrangement is made.

This type of kinship system is clearly related to the Kariera type, but at the same time represents a movement away from that type, and perhaps we may say, towards the Aranda system. It is clearly dependent on the existence of the four sections, and would perhaps be unworkable without them. Its great difference from the Kariera system is in forbidding marriage with near relatives within the marriageable group, *i.e.*, within the group of persons classified with the cross-cousins.

All the persons born in a given horde belong to one couple of sections. The horde is, therefore, necessarily exogamous. It seems likely, though the evidence is not conclusive, that a man would not be allowed to marry a woman from his mother's horde. There is also a definite objection to a man marrying a woman from any horde that is geographically near his own. He must seek his wife at a distance.

These tribes have a system of totemism based on local totem-centres and increase rites, similar in essentials to the *tal* system of Western Australia. A totem-centre is called *mírer* or *mirera* in Kumbaingeri, and *yaiainwoy* in Dangati. For each totem-centre there is a myth which accounts for its formation as a result of the doings of mythical ancestors. There are normally several totem-centres in the territory of each horde, and the men of the horde, and sometimes the women, can carry out at the centre a rite which is believed to produce an increase of the species with which it is connected.

This area also has sex totems, the totem of the men being the bat, and that of the women a tree-creeper. It also has a system of personal totems similar to that described for the Kamilaroi area.

1. Palmer, Edward, Notes on Some Australian Tribes. *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xiii, 1884, 276-334 (Kombinegherry).
2. Mathews, R. H., The Totemic Divisions of Australian Tribes. *Journal of the Royal Society of New South Wales*, xxxi, 1897, 154-176.
3. Radcliffe-Brown, A. R., Notes on Totemism in Eastern Australia. *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, lix, 1929, 399-415.
4. Radcliffe-Brown, A. R., Unpublished Field Notes, 1929, 1930.

24. —————

This area consists of part of the coastal region of New South Wales immediately to the south of the area last described (23). Very little is known about the natives of this region, and it is now too late to obtain any reliable information.

The names and distribution of the tribes are not known with any certainty. In the north there were the Birpai on the Hastings River, and the Kattang on the Manning River. There are one or two statements that indicate the existence of the system of four sections in this area, but I do not think they are reliable. For a long time the survivors of these tribes have been acquainted with the section systems of their neighbours in areas 21, 22 and 23. My own enquiries, which are far from satisfactory, however, indicate that the Birpai and Kattang had no moieties or sections, but had a system of patrilineal totemic clans which were the important groups in the reckoning of kinship and in the regulation of marriage. Three totems of which there are still survivors in the Kattang tribe in 1930 are opossum (*watu*), which had the native apple tree (*gundaiban*) as subsidiary totem, kangaroo (*wapara*) and porcupine (*mikiri*). It seems to be too late to discover if there was formerly a system of totem-centres with increase rites similar to that of the tribes further north.

The Birpai and Kattang also has personal totems, called *mari*, similar to the personal totems of area 21.

What evidence there is points, therefore, to this area being substantially the same in the general aspects of its social organization as area 20.

1. Enright, W. J., The Initiation Ceremonies of the Aborigines of Port Stephens. *Journal of the Royal Society of New South Wales*, xxxiii, 1899, 115-124.

Q

MOTHER'S MOTHER'S = Mother's Father's
BROTHER Sister

A²b²

MOTHER'S MOTHER'S = Father's Father's
BROTHER'S SON Sister's Daughter

D¹c¹

MOTHER'S MOTHER'S = Mother's Brother's
BROTHER'S SON'S Daughter
SON

A²b²

MOTHER'S BROTHER'S = Sister's Daughter
DAUGHTER'S SON

D¹c¹

MOTHER'S DAUGHTER'S = Daughter's Daughter
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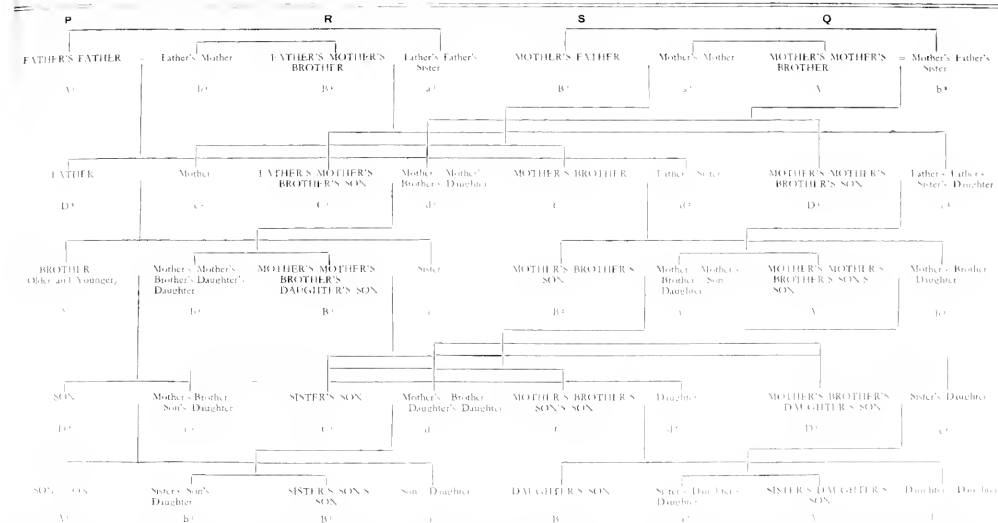
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ARANDA TYPE OF KINSHIP TERMINOLOGY.

Ego is Male, P, AA.



Explanation of the Chart.

This chart is constructed on the same principles as that given for the Kariya type. It contains exactly twice as many classes of relative as the Kariya chart. The vertical line of any relative is ever distant one from the other. The chart shows the four patrilineal lines of descent of the Aranda (stem in vertical column headed P, Q, R and S). These refer to the male relative in the column immediately beneath the left. The line of descent of any female relative can be found by referring to her brother since she belongs to the same line. The subjection into which a male relative falls in the term of eight sub-classes is indicated by the letter A, B, C, D, E, F, G, H, I, J, K, L, M, N, O, P, Q, R, S, T, U, V, W, X, Y, Z.

2. Enright, W. J., The Language, Weapons and Manufactures of the Aborigines of Port Stephens, New South Wales. *Journal of the Royal Society of New South Wales*, xxxiv, 1900, 105-118.
3. Radcliffe-Brown, A. R., Unpublished Field Notes, 1930.

25. Kabi Type.

This area is on the coast on both sides of the boundary between New South Wales and Queensland. It extends from the Clarence River in the south to the Burnett River in the north, and includes a number of tribes, of which the chief are the Yukum, Yagara, Djandai, Waka, Kabi and Koreng. Each of these is a linguistic group, and is named from the word for 'No' in its language. There were a few smaller tribes also included in the area.

Each of the big tribes is subdivided into a number of what may conveniently be called sub-tribes. Thus amongst the sub-tribes of the Yukum are the Bandjelang, the Kidjabal, the Minyangbal, and others. The Kabi are divided into a number of local groups with names formed by means of the suffix -bara.

These sub-tribes were apparently further subdivided into hordes. This certainly was so amongst the Yukum. Thus one horde of the Kidjabal occupied about 100 square miles around the present town of Woodenbung.

Throughout the area there was a system of four sections with the names Banda, feminine Bandagan; Deroain, feminine Deroingan; Bandjuru, feminine Bandjuran; and Barang, feminine Barangan. In the north, *i.e.*, in the Kabi, the name Balkuin takes the place of Bandjuru.

Although the same names occur throughout the region, the arrangement of the sections with regard to marriage and descent is not the same. In the Yukum and Yagara tribes the arrangement is—

Banda	Bandjuru
Deroain	Barang

In the Kabi the arrangement is—

Banda	Barang
Deroain	Balkuin

Mathew records that in the Kabi tribe the names Dilbai and Kopaitthin were used for the matrilineal moieties, the former including Banda and Deroain, and the latter Barang and Balkuin.

The kinship system of the Yukum tribe is fairly similar to that of the Kumbaingeri, but has one or two features that differentiate it from that system. The Yagara system seems to be like the Yukum. For the Kabi we have a list of kinship terms collected by Mathew. These are not, in themselves, sufficient to permit us to classify the system, but suggest that it may well be similar to that of the Yukum.

The Yukum have a system of section totemism, different species of animals being regarded as each belonging to one particular section. For animals of the kangaroo kind, however, the male animal is said to belong to one section, and the female of the same species to the other section of the intermarrying pair.

The Yukum and Yagara also have a system of totemism with local totem-centres and increase rites similar to that of the Kumbaingeri. The word for totem-centre is *djurbil*. Each horde has a number of centres associated with different species which are thus the totems of the members of the horde, who can perform the rites for making the increase. The totem-centres had their origin in the time of the mythical ancestors (*Budjeram*). In all essentials this system of totemism is the same as that of the Kariera on the other side of the continent.

The information given about this area by Howitt is inaccurate in several particulars. Writing of what he calls the tribes about Maryborough, *i.e.*, about the Kabi tribe, he reports them as having patrilineal moieties, whereas from the evidence of Rev. J. Mathew and R. H. Mathews, it seems quite clear that the moieties are matrilineal. Howitt also describes on the authority of James Gibson, a people whom he calls Chepara as having no moieties, sections, or totems. The area in which he places these people includes a part of the Yukum country, and perhaps part of the Djandai, who were about what is now Brisbane. It may be taken as certain that the Yukum, and in all probability the Djandai, had four sections. Howitt's statements about the so-called Chepara are, therefore, to be entirely rejected.

1. Palmer, Edward, Notes on some Australian Tribes. *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xiii, 1884, 304-306.
2. Mathew, Rev. J., in Curr, *The Australian Race*, 1886-7, (iii, 152-195).
3. Mathews, R. H., Divisions of Queensland Aborigines. *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society*, xxxvii, 1898, 327-336.
4. Howitt, A. W., *Native Tribes of South-East Australia*, 1904.

5. Mathews, R. H., Notes on the Aborigines of the Northern Territory, Western Australia and Queensland. *Queensland Geographical Journal*, xxii, 1907, 1-13.
6. Mathew, Rev. J., *Two Representative Tribes of Queensland*, 1910 (Kabi and Wakka).
7. Mathew, Rev. J., Note on the Gurang Gurang Tribe of Queensland. *Report of the Australasian Association for the Advancement of Science*, xiv, 1913, 433-443.
8. Radcliffe-Brown, A. R., Notes on Totemism in Eastern Australia. *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, lix, 1929, 399-415.
9. Radcliffe-Brown, A. R., Unpublished Field Notes, 1929-30.

26. ———

This is a small coastal area of Queensland, extending from Port Curtis to Broad Sound and inland to the junction of the Fitzroy and Dawson Rivers. All our knowledge of this region, which is very slight, is derived from W. H. Flowers through information which he supplied to Howitt and Roth.

The area was occupied by a number of groups, apparently seven in all, which may perhaps be regarded as tribes—the Kuinmurbara, Tarambarā, Yetimarala, Ningebal, Warabal, Tarumbal and Urambal. Each of them was subdivided into a number of local groups with names formed by means of the suffix -barā, as Warubara, named after the *Zamia* nut, Ristebara, after the sand fly, and so on.

All the tribes had a system of four sections with named matrilineal moieties—

Wutaru	Yungaru
Munal	Kuiala
Karalbara	Kurpal

There are slight variations in the section names, as Kudala for Kuiala in the Tarumbal tribe.

The section names are said to have meanings as follows:—Munal, iguana; Kuiala, a hawk; Karalbara, good water; Kurpal, the barri-mundi.

It is stated that the Kuinmurbara tribe had matrilineal totemic clans, curlew, clear water, scrub wallaby and hawk belonging to the Wutaru moiety and black eaglehawk and laughing jackass to the Yungaru moiety. The mention of clear or good water and hawk as both section totems and clan totems suggests that these statements are not entirely reliable.

1. Howitt, A. W., *Native Tribes of South-East Australia*, 1904, (60, 111, 218).
2. Roth, W. E., *Bulletins of North Queensland Ethnography*, Bulletin 18. *Records of the Australian Museum*, viii, 1910, 79-106.

27. ———

This region includes about half the total area of Queensland. It is characterized by a system of four sections with the names Kupuru, Wungo, Kurkila and Banbari, or variants of these. It extends from just south of the New South Wales border at the Warrego River on the south to the Etheridge River on the north, and from the Georgina River on the west to the coast from Broad Sound to Hinchinbrook Island on the east.

Very little is known about the tribes of this region, many of which were massacred by settlers and police for refusing to recognize, or indeed failing to understand, the white man's claim to the right to dispossess them of their hunting grounds. With fuller knowledge we should doubtless find that the area would have to be subdivided into smaller areas, each with its own type of social organization.

There is a great deal of confusion about the naming of tribes in this region. Throughout the eastern portion of it there are local groups with names formed by means of the suffix *-bara*, which have often been spoken of as "tribes." It would seem, however, that they are really subdivisions of tribes, perhaps with some differences of dialect, and, therefore, constituting sub-tribes. Thus in the neighbourhood of Halifax Bay we get six such groups according to one informant, or seven according to another, all speaking dialects of one language, the Ikelbara, Dulenbara, Karabara, Yauembara, Mungulbara and Mandambara, with the Bungabara as the seventh. Curr's informant estimated the original population of the seven groups in 1865, when the country was first occupied, at only 500 persons, of whom about 200 survived in 1880.

In the country around Cape River it would seem that there were six groups, the Wokalbara (eel people), the Mangalabara (spinifex people), the Gundulubara (emu people), etc., who spoke, with small dialectic differences a language which they called Inibai.

Throughout this large area there was a system of four sections with dialectic forms of the same names, and, so far as the information goes,

with the same arrangement for marriage and descent. The system may be represented thus—

X	Y
Kupuru	Kurkila
Wungo	Banbari

In many of the tribes there are names for the matrilineal moieties indicated as X and Y above, but these names are not uniform throughout the region. Thus at Port Mackay we find Wutaru and Yangaru, on the Belyando River, Wuthera and Malera, and in the Pita-pita tribe, Utaru and Pakuta. The name of one moiety seems to be the same throughout, namely Wutaru, while the other varies in different parts.

The kinship systems of the region are entirely unknown save for two small areas. The Kogai tribe, in the extreme south of the area, has a kinship system very similar to that of its neighbours the Yularai (of area 21) and conforming to the Aranda type. The Badjeri tribe probably has the same sort of system. Roth has given an incomplete and confused account of the kinship system of the Pita-pita and neighbouring tribes of the western part of the area. From this description it seems that these tribes may have a system of the Kumbaingeri type. On the other hand it is possible that they really have a system of Aranda type which Roth failed to understand.

For some parts of this area there is evidence of the existence of some form of section totemism. Thus in the Pita-pita tribe, according to Roth, each of the four sections has certain species of animals associated with it, and every individual "as soon as he or she arrives at the necessary age" is forbidden to eat—not necessarily to kill—any of the species belonging to his or her section. Indications of some form of section totemism for other parts of the area are found in the earlier writings of Palmer, and of Curr's and Howitt's informants.

In the Kogai tribe, and possibly also in the Badjeri, there exists a system of matrilineal totemic clans similar to that of area 21. In this connection it should be recognized that one and the same tribe may very well have both a system of section totems and a system of clan totems, and the fact that the former is recorded must not be taken as evidence that the latter is absent.

1. Curr, Edward, *The Australian Race*, 1886- (ii, 418, 424, 468 ; iii, 18, 26, 44, 64, 90).
2. Lumholtz, Carl, *Among Cannibals*, London, 1889 (Herbert River Tribe).
3. Roth, W. E., *Ethnological Studies among the North-West-Central Queensland Aborigines*. Brisbane, 1897.
4. Mathews, R. H., Divisions of Queensland Aborigines. *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society*, xxxvii, 1898, 327-336.
5. Howitt, A. W., *Native Tribes of South-East Australia*, 1904.
6. Mathews, R. H., Language, Organization and Initiation Ceremonies of the Kogai Tribes, Queensland. *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, xxxvi, 1904, 28-38.
7. Mathews, R. H., Ethnological Notes on the Aboriginal Tribes of Queensland. *Queensland Geographical Journal*, xx, 1905, 49-75.
8. Roth, W. E., Bulletins of North Queensland Ethnography, Bulletin 18. *Records of the Australian Museum*, viii, 1910, 79-106.

28. ———

This area, at the head of the Gulf of Carpentaria, contains the following tribes : Kalkadun, Maiabi, Maikulan, Maigudano, Obarindi, Workobungo, and perhaps others.

There is a system of four sections with named matrilineal moieties, of which the Kalkadun system may be taken as typical.

Utaru	Malara
Patingo	Marinango
Kangilango	Tunbiango

Roth gives incomplete and unsatisfactory lists of kinship terms for the Kalkadun and the Maiabi. From these the type of kinship system cannot be determined.

According to Palmer and Roth these tribes have some form of section totemism, but the information is not very satisfactory. Thus in Roth's list of the section totems of the Kalkadun, the same species is in many instances given as belonging to two different sections.

1. Palmer, Edward, Notes on Some Australian Tribes. *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xiii, 1884, 276-334.
2. Roth, W. E., *Ethnological Studies among the North-West-Central Queensland Aborigines*, Brisbane, 1897.
3. Roth, W. E., Bulletins of North Queensland Ethnography, Bulletin 18. *Records of the Australian Museum*, viii, 1910, 79-106.

29. ———

This area includes the highlands about Atherton and Herberton and part of the adjoining coast lands. The tribal names are not known with any certainty. Some or all of the tribes had a system of four sections. That of the Tully River as given by Roth is—

Karavandji	Kurkillia
Tjikun	Kurongon

For the Warkeman tribe Mathews gives—

Karpandji	Kelandji
Tjikundji	Kupandji

The kinship systems and the totemic system have not been recorded.

1. Mathews, R. H., Divisions of Some North Queensland Tribes. *Journal of the Royal Society of New South Wales*, xxxii, 1898, 250-253.
2. Roth, W. E., Bulletins of North Queensland Ethnography, Bulletin 18. *Records of the Australian Museum*, viii, 1910, 79-106.
3. Richards, Francis, Customs and Language of the Western Hodgkinson Aborigines. *Memoirs of the Queensland Museum*, viii, 1926, 249-265.

30. Koko-Yimidir Type.

This area contains a number of related tribes amongst whom the tribal name is formed by means of a prefix Koko- meaning "speech." Such are the Koko-Baldja, Koko-Yimidir, Koko-Yerlantji, Koko-Mini, Koko-Rarmul, Koko-Olkulo, Koko-Wara and Koko-Lama.

These tribes have a system of four sections. The names and arrangement of the sections in the Koko-Mini are—

Mangil	=	Ararina
Parina	=	Edjurina

Roth has published an account of the kinship terminology of the Koko-Yimidir of the country around Cooktown, but it does not give us sufficient information to enable us to determine the nature of the kinship organization. We may note, however, that the Koko-Yimidir distinguish between older and younger brothers and sisters of the father and mother. This is a characteristic feature of the next area to be considered, and in one tribe at least (the Wik-Munkan) is correlated with a special form of marriage rule.

With regard to totemism Roth states that these tribes all had the same form of section totemism that he found in the Pita-pita tribe. Roth's statements in this matter, however, are not as reliable as could be wished,

and his own list for the Koko-Wara shows that the two sections of one couple, *i.e.*, of one patrilineal moiety, have the same totems, thus showing that this tribe at any rate has not section totemism of the Pita-pita type.

What is probably also a form of totemism amongst these tribes is referred to incidentally by Roth under the term "animal namesakes." Thus he states that on the Palmer River (probably the Koko-Mini) when a person is named after an animal or plant he may not eat it. (Bulletin 11, page 77.)

1. Roth, W. E., *Bulletins of North Queensland Ethnography*, Bulletin 2, Brisbane, 1901 (Koko-Yimidir, 10). Bulletin 11, *Records of the Australian Museum*, vii, 1908, 74-107. Bulletin 18, *Ibid*, viii, 1910, 79-106.

31. Cape York Peninsula.

This region contains a considerable number of tribes about which very little is at present known. On the west side of the peninsula there is a group of tribes of which the Wik-Munkan may be taken as typical. North of these there is a group of small tribes of which the Ngerikudi is the best known. On the east side of the peninsula there are a few tribes, including the Yintjinga, Ompela and Yao (or Koko-Yao) who obtain the bulk of their food supply from the sea.

According to statements by Roth and Mathews, both apparently derived from the same informant (Rev. N. Hey), the Tjongandji tribe has a system of four sections. Mathews also gives names for matrilineal moieties. Roth states that each of the sections occupies a different portion of the tribal territory. These accounts do not seem entirely reliable, and further investigations, if it is not too late, are desirable. In many of the tribes of the area, there are apparently no sections but patrilineal moieties divided into patrilineal localized totemic clans. In the Yao tribe the moieties are named Koyana and Karpeya.

Throughout the region, so far as at present known, the kinship systems make marked distinctions between the older and younger brothers and sisters of the father and mother. The Wik-Munkan tribe has a kinship system which is a special variant from the Kariera type. The mother's brothers are distinguished according as they are older or younger than the mother, and a man is permitted to marry the daughter of his mother's younger brother, but not the daughter of his mother's older brother. The discussion of this interesting variation from the normal Australian type must be postponed until the results of the field research in this

region by Miss McConnel and D. F. Thomson have been published.

Those tribes about which we have information have a system of local patrilineal totemism. The tribe is divided into patrilineal hordes of the usual Australian type, and each horde is associated with one or more natural species. In some of the tribes such as the Wik-Munkan there is found the system of local totem-centres with localized increase ceremonies of the *talú* type. This system, as it occurs in the Wik-Munkan tribe, is described by Miss McConnel in a paper in this number of "Oceania."

On the east side of the peninsula, in addition to this patrilineal local totemism, there are personal totems which are determined by divination.

1. Mathews, R. H., Marriage and Descent among the Australian Aborigines; Appendix; Some Tribes of Cape York Peninsula, Queensland. *Journal of the Royal Society of New South Wales*, xxxiv, 1900, 131-135 (Joonkoonjee).
2. Roth, W. E., *Bulletins of North Queensland Ethnography*. Bulletin 6, Brisbane, 1903. (Nggerikudi Kinship Terms, 6).
3. *Reports of the Cambridge Expedition to Torres Straits*, v. 1904 (Yaraikana, 193).
4. Roth, W. E., *Bulletins of North Queensland Ethnography*, Bulletin 18, *Records of the Australian Museum*, viii, 1910, (104).
5. McConnel, Ursula, The Wik-Munkan Tribe of Cape York Peninsula. *Oceania* I, 1930, 97-104, 181-205.
6. McConnel, Ursula, Unpublished Field Notes, 1927-28.
7. Thomson, D. F., Unpublished Field Notes, 1928-29.

32. Western Islands of Torres Straits.

The Western Islands of Torres Straits were occupied by a people speaking languages with Australian affinities, and brief mention must, therefore, be made of their social organization.

The kinship system is not of Australian type, but is probably more nearly related to systems of New Guinea.

The people of the islands were divided into patrilineal totemic clans. Most of the clans had more than one totem, but one totem was more important than the others, and may be called the chief totem, the others being subsidiary. The members of one clan generally lived in one locality, at any rate in Mabuiag. The clan was exogamous.

There is evidence of a former grouping of the totemic clans in two divisions, but these divisions were not exogamous, and were therefore not true moieties.

1. *Reports of the Cambridge Anthropological Expedition to Torres Straits*. Vol. v, Sociology, Magic and Religion of the Western Islanders. Cambridge, 1904.

THE SOCIAL ORGANIZATION OF AUSTRALIAN TRIBES

BY A. R. RADCLIFFE-BROWN

PART II (*continued*)

33. Aranda Type.

This area includes the Aranda (Arunta), Ilpara (Ilpirra), Iliaura, Anmatjera (Unmatjera, Imatjera) and Kaititj (Kaitish, Katitja). We should probably also include the Ngali, westward of the Ilpara.

In the southern part of the Aranda tribe there are four sections :—

Pananka	Purula
Kamara	Paltara

In the northern part of the tribe, and in all the other tribes of the area there are eight subsections. In the Aranda these are¹ :—

Pananka	Purula
Knuraia	Ngala
Kamara	Paltara
Mbitjana	Bangata

The kinship terminology and the kinship system are apparently the same in the two parts of the Aranda tribe.

Although a good deal has been written about the Aranda tribe it is still impossible to define precisely the social organization. This is because we have not sufficient exact detailed information about the local organization and its relation to the totemic system. There were local groups each of which was specially associated with one moiety. Apparently all the persons born in the one local group belonged to one moiety, and therefore constituted a local clan.

Since the kinship system of the Aranda has been taken as a norm it will be useful to give a condensed description of it. The accompanying table gives the kinship terms used by a man arranged in the same order as in the chart at page 50. The spelling is slightly altered from that

¹The spelling is that of Strehlow.

of Strehlow, and in the following account the spellings of Spencer and Gillen are given in brackets.

ARANGA	Pala	PALA	Aranga	TJIMIA	Ebmana	EBMANA	Tjimia
KATA	Maia	ANTARA	Mara	KAMUNA	Wona	MARA	Intoa
KALYA	Noa	MBANA	Kwaia	ANKALA	Ebmana	EBMANA	Ankala
or ITIA			or Itia			or ILIARA	
ALIRA	Namara	AMBА	Mara	KAMUNA	Alira	MARA	Amba
ARANGA	Pala	PALA	Aranga	TJIMIA	Ebmana	EBMANA	Tjimia

In the five generations represented in the chart there are 40 relationship positions, or 42 if we allow for the distinction of older and younger brothers and sisters, 21 being male relatives and 21 female. For these 42 classes of relatives the Aranda have 21 terms, six used for male relatives only, six for female relatives only, and nine for male and female relatives. The 21 male relatives of the chart are thus denoted by 15 terms. This is because the four terms for relatives of the second ascending (grand-parents') generation are used reciprocally for those of the second descending (grandchildren's) generation, and two other terms, *kamuna* and *mara* are used for relatives of two generations (first ascending and first descending).

In the second ascending and second descending generations there are only four terms for sixteen positions in the chart—*araya* (arunga), *pala* (apulla), *tjimia* (chimmia) and *ebmana* (ipmunna). Each term is used for both male and female relatives who are brothers and sisters. A single term *itia* is used for both younger brother and younger sister, and male and female cross-cousins are called *ankala* (unkulla). One term *mara* (mura) is applied to wife's mother and her brother. One term is used for child—*alira* (allira, alirra) and one for sister's child—*amba* (umba).

An important feature that does not appear from the chart is the relation between the terms used by a man and those used by a woman. A man calls his own children *alira* and his sister's children *amba*. His sister calls her own children *amba*, and her brother's children *alira*. In other words—brother and sister apply the same term to a given person although they stand in different relations to him or her. Similarly a man calls his son's son *araya* and his sister calls that individual (her brother's

son's son) by the same term, while her own son's son is *pala*. This is an important feature of the Aranda system which appears in many systems of the Aranda type, and may indeed be regarded as normal for the type.

The rule of marriage is that a man marries a woman who is his *noa* (anua), she being the daughter of a woman he calls *mara* (mura) and a man he calls *antara* (ikuntera). His *mara* (wife's mother) is the daughter of an *ebmana* (ipmunna)—mother's mother's brother. It seems that a man could marry his own mother's mother's brother's daughter's daughter, or his own mother's father's sister's daughter's daughter. His *antara* (wife's father) is the son of a man he calls *pala* (father's mother's brother), and of a woman he calls *araya* (father's father's sister). A passage of Spencer and Gillen, that is not as precise as might be desired, states that if a man who is the son of a *pala* man and an *araya* woman belongs to Ego's own locality or personal "family," if, for example, he is the son of Ego's father's father's own sister, then he is called not *antara* but *amba* (umba), and his daughter will be Ego's *pala* and not *noa*. This limitation of marriage whereby a man is not allowed to marry the son's daughter of some of the women he calls "father's father's sister" is probably not typical of systems of the Aranda type generally.

A feature of a good many systems of Aranda type is that the term for mother's mother and mother's mother's brother is also applied to the latter's son's son and daughter. In the Aranda system it would seem that this feature exists and that the term *ebmana* (ipmunna) can be applied to the mother's mother's brother's son's son. But there is also, according to Strehlow, a special term *iliara* which is applied to the husband of Ego's female cross-cousin, who would otherwise be *ebmana*.

The use of the same term *kamuna* (gammona) for "mother's brother," and for the latter's son's son who is also "daughter's husband" is an important feature of the Aranda system which is not universal in systems of Aranda type. Connected with it is the use of the same term *mara* for wife's mother's brother (*i.e.*, mother's mother's brother's son), and for the latter's son's son and daughter, which means that a sister's son's wife is called by the same term as wife's mother. These uses would suggest the possibility of marriage with the sister's son's daughter, which is a recognized form of marriage in north-west Australia. But the evidence is that such a marriage would not be permitted in the Aranda tribe.

The totemic system of the Aranda is based on the existence of local totem-centres which were formed by the totemic ancestors in the mythical period. For each totem-centre there is a localized rite for the increase of the totem species. When a child is conceived it is regarded as being a reincarnation of, or an incarnation of an emanation from, a particular totemic ancestor associated with a particular totem-centre. The child therefore has for his totem the species connected with the totem-centre from which he is derived. Persons having the same totem form a group which may be called a cult-society. The evidence as to the relation of these cult-societies to the hordes or local groups and to the kinship groups, is not satisfactory, and there is no space here for a critical discussion. It may be mentioned that there is an important relation between an individual and the totem and totem-centre of his mother.

1. Spencer, Baldwin, and Gillen, F. J. *The Native Tribes of Central Australia*, 1899.
2. Spencer, Baldwin, and Gillen, F. J. *The Northern Tribes of Central Australia*, 1904.
3. Strehlow, Carl. *Die Aranda- und Loritja-Stämme in Zentral-Australien*. Five parts, 1907-1920.
4. Mathews, R. H. Notes on the Arranda Tribe. *Journal of the Royal Society of New South Wales*, xli, 1907, 146-163.
5. Mathews, R. H. Marriage and Descent in the Arranda Tribe, Central Australia. *American Anthropologist*, N.S., x, 1908, 88-102.
6. Spencer, Baldwin, and Gillen, F. J. *The Arunta*. Two vols., 1927.

33a. —————

To the west of the Aranda are a group of tribes called collectively Loritja by the Aranda. In language these tribes differ very markedly from the Aranda, and are related to the tribes of Western Australia in the same latitude. The most northerly of the Loritja tribes has a social organization similar in essentials to that of the northern Aranda, with eight sub-sections. In the more southerly of the Loritja tribes the sub-sections are absent.

Strehlow, Carl. *Die Aranda- und Loritja-Stämme in Zentral-Australien*. Five parts, 1907-1920.

34. Tjingali Type.

This area includes the Tjingali, Ngandji, Umbaia and Waramunga tribes, and perhaps others such as the Worgaia, Bingongina and Walpari.

All the tribes have the system of eight sub-sections with kinship systems of the Aranda type. The patrilineal moieties are named, according to Spencer and Gillen, Wilitji and Liaritji in the Tjingali, Umbaia and Ngandji, Wiliuku and Liaruku in the Bingongina, Uluuru and Biingaru in the Worgaia, and Uluuru and Kingili in the Waramunga, Walpari and Wulmala. There are two forms of the name of each sub-section, one masculine and the other feminine.

According to Spencer and Gillen the Waramunga tribe is divided into two parts. In the southern part all the hordes belong to the Uluuru moiety, and in the northern part all the hordes are Kingili. This means that a horde in the northern part of the tribe will contain only Kingili men who have been born there, while their wives will be Uluuru women from the southern part of the tribe.

As in many other tribes with kinship systems of the Aranda type alternative marriages are permitted. If a man of a certain sub-section cannot find a wife in the proper sub-section he is allowed to marry into some other sub-section. In this area it would seem from the account of Spencer and Gillen that the only, or at any rate the preferred and usual alternative marriage is that if a man of A¹ cannot find a wife in B¹ the proper sub-section, he may take a wife from B². In terms of relationship this means that if a man cannot find a wife amongst the women whom he classifies with his mother's mother's brothers's daughter's daughter he may marry one who is classified with his mother's brother's daughter. According to R. H. Mathews a man of section A¹ is occasionally permitted to marry a woman of A², who would be his "mother's mother's brother's son's daughter," and even a woman of his own section A¹, who would presumably be a tribal "sister." In all instances of alternative or irregular marriages the relationships of the offspring and the sub-section to which they belong are determined through the mother alone. In other words they take the position in the kinship organization of the tribe which they would have had if the mother had married a man of the proper relationship and therefore of the proper sub-section.

The totemic structure of these tribes has not been described as precisely as could be wished. Spencer and Gillen inform us that almost without exception a child has the same totem as his father. Whether the exceptions are due to alternative or irregular marriages, or to some other consideration they do not say. Each totem belongs to one of the

patrilineal moieties, so that all persons belonging to the totemic group belong to that moiety. Apparently each totemic group is specially connected with one patrilineal couple of sub-sections, so that all, or nearly all, the members of the group belong to one or other of those two sub-sections. Thus the black-snake totem of the Waramunga tribe is said to belong to the two sub-sections Thapanunga and Thapungarti, which form one patrilineal couple.

Each totem is associated with a spot or district which is the totem-centre, and with a single mythical being who is the totemic ancestor. It would seem, however, that there is no general system of localized increase rites of the talu type. In its place we have an elaborate cult consisting of totemic ceremonies which can be performed anywhere. Each ceremony is the representation of a myth, and has reference to the totem-centre and the totemic ancestor. The performance of the ceremonies is regarded as resulting in the increase of the totemic species to which they refer. The members of a totemic group can only perform their ceremony or ceremonies when asked to do so by the members of the opposite moiety.

It seems likely, though not entirely certain from the published accounts, that the totemic group is really a patrilineal clan which owns the territory within which lies the totem-centre.

1. Mathews, R. H. The Wombya Organization of the Australian Aborigines. *American Anthropologist*, N.S., ii, 1900, 494-501.
2. Mathews, R. H. Ethnological Notes on the Aboriginal Tribes of the Northern Territory. *Queensland Geographical Journal*, xvi, 1901, 69-90.
3. Spencer, Baldwin, and Gillen, F. J. *The Northern Tribes of Central Australia*, 1904.
4. Mathews, R. H. Sociology of some Australian Tribes. *Journal of the Royal Society of New South Wales*, xxxix, 1905, 104-123.
5. Mathews, R. H. Social Organization of the Chingalee Tribe, Northern Australia. *American Anthropologist*, N.S., vii, 1905, 301-304.
6. Mathews, R. H. Sociologie de la Tribu des Chingalee du Territoire Septentrional. *Bulletins et Memoires de la Société d'Anthropologie de Paris*, 1907, 529-536.
7. Mathews, R. H. Sociology of the Chingalee Tribe, Northern Australia. *American Anthropologist*, N.S., x, 1908, 281-285.

35. Binbinga Type.

The Binbinga and Alaua tribes, and possibly some others, have a

social organization similar in many respects to the tribes of the Tjingali group (34). They have eight sub-sections and kinship systems of the Aranda type. There seem to be no names for the moieties. The totemic system is similar to that of the Tjingali.

Spencer, B., and Gillen, F. J. *The Northern Tribes of Central Australia*, 1904.

36. Mangarai Type.

This area contains the Yangman and Mangarai tribes and perhaps others. It has a system of eight sub-sections and in the Mangarai tribe there are also names for the patrilineal moieties. The kinship system seems to conform to the Aranda type.

The totemic system is not properly understood, but is of a type that recurs further west in area 38. Each sub-section has certain natural species associated with it as totems. A person's totem is one those associated with his sub-section, but it is not known how it is determined which of the various species shall be that of any particular individual.

1. Mathews, R. H. Organization sociale des tribus aborigènes de l'Australie. *Bulletins et Memoires de la Société d'Anthropologie de Paris*, 1901, 415-419.
2. Mathews, R. H. Organization sociale de quelques tribus Australiennes. *Bulletins et Memoires de la Société d'Anthropologie de Paris*, 1906, 165-174.
3. Spencer, B. Native Tribes of the Northern Territory, 1914.

37. Madbara Type.

This area lies on both sides of the Victoria River, and includes the Wadaman and Madbara and other tribes.

Our information about it is at present scanty and not satisfactory. There is a system of eight sub-sections and the kinship system appears to conform to the Aranda type. According to Spencer every individual has a totem (*gwaiyan*) which is inherited from the mother and has also one or more, usually two, accessory totems.

1. Mathews, R. H. Divisions of North Australian Tribes. *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society*, xxxviii, 1899, 75-79.
2. Mathews, R. H. The Wombya Organization of the Australian Aborigines. *American Anthropologist*, N.S., ii, 1900, 494-501.
3. Mathews, R. H. Ethnological Notes on the Aboriginal Tribes of the Northern Territory. *Queensland Geographical Journal*, xvi, 1901, 69-90.
4. Spicer, B. Native Tribes of the Northern Territory, 1914.

38. —————

This area consists of part of the Kimberley District of Western Australia. The two most important tribes are the Lungu at Hall's Creek and the Djaru eastward of the Margaret River.

Throughout the area there is the system of eight sub-sections with kinship systems conforming to the Aranda type. For each sub-section there are masculine and feminine forms of the name. In the Lungu the system is as follows, only the masculine forms of the names being given—

A ¹	Djangala	=	Djungura	B ¹
A ²	Djuru	=	Djoan	B ²
C ¹	Djoalyi	=	Djakara	D ¹
C ²	Djangari	=	Djambadjina	D ²

It has been stated above that in tribes with eight sub-sections, or with the Aranda type of kinship organization, the difficulty of providing every man with a wife in accordance with the fundamental rule of the system leads to certain modifications whereby besides the "regular" marriage what may be called "alternative" marriages are permitted.

The Lungu and the Djaru tribes in this area afford examples of the two principal types of such alternative marriages. In the Djaru tribe to the east the regular marriage is for a man of A¹ to marry a woman of b¹. Alternatively he may take a wife from b². Similarly B¹ should marry a¹, but alternatively may marry a². In terms of kinship this means that while the regular marriage is with a woman who is classified with the mother's mother's brother's daughter's daughter, the alternative is with one classified with the mother's brother's daughter. It would seem that marriage with a near relative of this kind, as own mother's brother's daughter or own father's sister's daughter, would not be allowed but only with distant relatives who would be denoted by the same term.

In the Lungu tribe there is a different arrangement. A man of A¹, Djangala in the above table, should take a wife from b¹, Djungura. This is the regular marriage. Alternatively he may take a wife from a², Djuru, that is he marries into the other section of his own sub-section. In terms of kinship the alternative marriage is with his mother's mother's brother's son's daughter.

The Lungu type of alternative marriage seems to be characteristic of the tribes to the west, whereas the Djaru type is found amongst the tribes to the east, the two different types meeting in this area.

In all instances of alternative marriages the sub-section of the children is determined through the mother. Thus in the Lungu tribe if a man of A^1 marries a woman of a^2 the children will be C^1 from the mother, not D^2 as they would be if descent and kinship were reckoned through the father. In the Djaru tribe if a man of A^1 marries a woman of b^2 the children will be D^1 .

These tribes have a system of totemism apparently similar to that of the Mangarai (36). Certain species are associated with each sub-section and each individual has as his or her totem one of those belonging to his or her sub-section. Thus a man never has the same totem as either his father or his mother. It is not known, however, exactly how the totem is determined.

1. Mathews, R. H. The Wombya Organization of the Australian Aborigines. *American Anthropologist*, N.S. ii, 1900, 494-501.
2. Mathews, R. H. Some Aboriginal Tribes of Western Australia. *Journal of the Royal Society of New South Wales*, xxxv, 1901, 217-222.
3. Mathews, R. H. Ethnological Notes on the Aboriginal Tribes of the Northern Territory. *Queensland Geographical Journal*, xvi, 1901, 69-90.
4. Mathews, R. H. Sociology of the Aborigines of Western Australia. *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society*, xlix, 1905, 32-55.
5. Radcliffe-Brown, A. R. Unpublished Field-Notes. 1911-12.
6. Elkin, A. P. Unpublished Field-Notes. 1927-28.

39. —————

This area contains the following tribes—Nangabuya, Nandi (or Ngandi), Ngalbun, Rainbarngo, Nakara, Gunawitji, Mauang, Gunwingu, Maiali and Djauan.

According to Warner these tribes have an anomalous form of social organization in that they have eight sub-sections but have kinship systems of the Karia type with bilateral cross-cousin marriage. This would mean that so far as the internal organization of the tribe is concerned the sub-sections are functionless, and the tribe really has a four-section system disguised as an eight- sub-section system.

$$\begin{array}{lcl} \left. \begin{array}{l} A^1 \\ A^2 \end{array} \right\} & = & \left\{ \begin{array}{l} B^1 \\ B^2 \end{array} \right. \\ \left. \begin{array}{l} C^1 \\ C^2 \end{array} \right\} & = & \left\{ \begin{array}{l} D^1 \\ D^2 \end{array} \right. \end{array}$$

Thus a man of sub-section A¹ would regard all men of the contemporary generation of both A¹ and A² as "brothers," and all the women as "sisters," and all the women of that generation of both B¹ and B² as possible wives. If he married a woman of B¹ the children would be D² and if he married B² the children would be D¹.

Warner's investigations seem to show that in this area, as in the next (40) the chief or only function of the sub-sections is to permit the tribe to adapt its kinship system to that of the tribes further south having a fully functioning system of eight sub-sections with kinship systems of Aranda type. The eight named divisions, which are clearly the result of the systematization of a kinship system of Aranda type would thus have spread to these tribes without the system itself on which they are based having been adopted. Further study of the area is needed before we can discuss with any assurance this somewhat anomalous condition.

For the Djauan tribe Spencer gives a list of kinship terms which suggests a possible system of Aranda type. Warner is of opinion that there may be a difference of social organization between the north and the south of the tribe.

Practically nothing is known about the totemism of these tribes. According to Spencer the Djauan tribe has patrilineal totemic clans, there being four groups of clans, each group corresponding to one patrilineal couple of sub-sections. These groups would correspond to the four semi-moieties of the Mara type. R. H. Mathews, who in such matters is not always reliable, states that in the Djauan tribe succession of the totem does not depend upon either father or mother, but is regulated by locality.

1. Spencer, B. *Native Tribes of the Northern Territory*, 1914.

2. Warner, W. Lloyd. Unpublished Field-Notes, 1927-29.

40. Murngin Type.

This area consists of the north-eastern part of Arnhem Land, and contains the following tribes—Murngin, Yarenango, Barlamomo, Dai, Ritarngo, Djinba, Yandjinang and Burera.

These tribes have patrilineal moieties, named Yididja and Dua in Murngin, and a system of eight sub-sections. The kinship system is of a special type. It is based on unilateral (matrilateral) cross-cousin marriage. A man may marry the daughter of his mother's brother, or some other

person denoted by the same term of kinship, but may not marry the daughter of a father's sister. His wife's mother must therefore be the daughter of a "mother's mother's brother" but not the daughter of a "father's father." Exchange of sisters is prohibited; Ego cannot marry the sister of his sister's husband.

The Murngin system of kinship recognizes seven lines of descent, as compared with the four of the Aranda type and the two of the Kariara type.

Although the tribe has eight sub-sections these do not really function as they do in the tribes with kinship systems of Aranda type. Thus a man of section A¹ may marry either b¹ or b². The section of the children is determined by that of the mother so that in the first instance they will be D² and in the second D¹.

The Murngin tribe has a complex totemic system in which certain species are specially connected with the sub-sections (section totemism) while other species are connected with the patrilineal local clans constituted by all persons born in a single horde. There is a system of local totem-centres, but without increase rites of the talu type.

1. Warner, W. Lloyd. Morphology and Functions of the Australian Murngin Type of Kinship. *American Anthropologist*, N.S., xxxii, 1930, 207-256.
2. Warner, W. Lloyd. Unpublished Field-Notes, 1927-29.

41. —————

Groot Eylandt is inhabited by a tribe of which the name is apparently Ingura. While this tribe would seem to differ from those on the mainland, too little is at present known about its social organization to permit us to speak with any certainty.

42. Mara Type.

This area on the Gulf of Carpentaria contains the Mara, Anyula, Nalakan, Yikul and Wanderang tribes.

These tribes have patrilineal moieties each divided into two semi-moieties. Thus in the Mara tribe the moieties are named Muluri and Umbana. The former is divided into Murungun and Mumbali and the latter into Purdal and Kuial.

A child belongs to the same semi-moiety as the father. The rule of marriage is that a man marries a woman of the opposite moiety to his own and of the semi-moiety to which his mother does not belong. Thus the son of a Murungun man and a Purdal woman is himself Murungun and must marry a Kuial.

The kinship systems of these tribes are of the Aranda type. The four lines of descent of the Aranda type not only exist as absolute divisions of the tribe but are recognized and named, being what are called above semi-moieties.

In these tribes, as in many others with kinship systems of Aranda type, alternative marriages are permitted. If a man cannot find a wife of the proper relationship, *i.e.*, mother's mother's brother's daughter's daughter, he may marry one who is classed with the mother's brother's daughter. Thus a Murungun whose mother is Purdal should marry Kuial. Alternatively he may marry Purdal of his own generation.

These tribes have a system of patrilineal totemism. It seems likely that all persons born in one horde form a single totemic clan. The clans seem to be divided into four groups each constituting one of the semi-moieties. There is evidence of the existence of a few localized increase rites of the talu type but it is not clear if there is a regular cult of this type in which each clan would have its own rite or rites. It is probable, however, that the totemic system is based on the existence of local totem-centres.

1. Spencer, B., and Gillen, F. J. *Northern Tribes of Central Australia*, 1904. (Mara, Anula).
2. Spencer, B. *Native Tribes of the Northern Territory of Australia*, 1914. (Mara, Nullakum).
3. Warner, W. Lloyd. Unpublished Field-Notes, 1927-29.

43. Tiwi Type.

This area consists of the Melville and Bathurst Islands and the Coburg Peninsula of the neighbouring mainland. The islands are inhabited by the Tiwi and the peninsula by a tribe of which the proper name would seem to be Iwaidja.

These tribes have the normal organization into patrilineal hordes, and have neither moieties nor sections. They have matrilineal totemic clans united into three exogamous phratries. The kinship system of the

Iwaidja is unknown. That of the Tiwi is of somewhat aberrant type. It permits marriage with the mother's brother's daughter and also with the sister's son's daughter.

1. Spencer, B. *Native Tribes of the Northern Territory of Australia*, 1914.
2. Hart, C. W. M. The Tiwi of Melville and Bathurst Islands. *Oceania*, i, 1930, 167-180.
3. Hart, C. W. M. Unpublished Field-Notes, 1928-29.

44. Kakadu.

The social organization of the Kakadu tribe has been described by Spencer. There are neither moieties nor sections. The kinship system seems to differ in important respects from normal Australian systems. In particular, according to Spencer, a man may inherit the widow of a man of the generation above his own who may therefore be his "father" or his "mother's brother." This would be impossible in a normal Australian system which precludes marriage between persons of two adjoining generations.

Every person has a totem which is determined by circumstances connected with his or her birth.

Further investigation of this and the neighbouring tribes is required before we can define the social organization and compare it with other Australian systems.

Spencer. *Native Tribes of the Northern Territory of Australia*, 1914.

45. —————

The tribes of this area have been much affected by the occupation of their country by the whites.

The Larakia tribe of the neighbourhood of Port Darwin had neither moieties nor sections. Their kinship system would seem to have been of the Kariera type with perhaps some special modifications. Spencer records, without however much certainty, that they had exogamous patrilineal totemic groups.

For the Worgait tribe Spencer gives a list of kinship terms that suggests a system of Kariera type. In this tribe also a man inherits his totem or totems from his father.

The Warrai tribe, which has been included in this area, has, according to Spencer, a system of sections.

Adjumbitj

Appungerta

Auinmitj

Appularan

There are a number of natural species associated with each of the patrilineal moieties. A child has as its totem one of the species associated with his own, *i.e.*, his father's moiety, but not the same as his father.

Spencer. *Native Tribes of the Northern Territory of Australia*, 1914.

46. —————

This area consists of part of the north of the Kimberley District about the Forrest River and the Lyne River.

The tribes are divided into patrilineal hordes each having its own territory (*gra*). Each horde has a headman who seems to exercise more authority than is usual in Australian tribes, and the office seems to be hereditary in the male line.

These tribes have patrilineal moieties (*tun*) named after the native companion and the turkey. Each moiety is divided into a number of totemic clans (*naragu*). In a single horde there are now to be found persons of both moieties and therefore of more than one totem, but there is some evidence to suggest that originally all the men of one horde had the same totem, so that the totemic clans were localized.

The exact position of the kinship system in a classification of Australian systems is not easy to fix. It differs from the Kariara type in certain important particulars. Thus the mother's mother's brother is distinguished from the father's father. The latter is denoted by the same term as the brother, and the former is called by the same term as the mother's mother. Wife's mother is distinguished from father's sister, and wife's mother's brother is distinguished from father. On the other hand mother's brother and wife's father are denoted by one term.

A man marries the daughter of his mother's brother or of some one whom he denotes by the same term. Dr. Elkin thinks that marriage with the father's sister's daughter is also permitted, but he found only one instance and that one not quite certain. He states also that when Ego's mother's brother has married Ego's father's sister Ego may not marry their daughter. A reasonable interpretation of the kinship terminology on the basis of our existing information would be that marriage with the

father's sister, if not prohibited, is not approved, and that the regular marriage would be with the daughter of the mother's mother's brother's daughter. If this interpretation is correct this system is to be classified with the Karadjeri type (50) and the Murngin type (40). As the exchange of sisters in marriage is practised in some instances by these tribes the system is not quite the same as the Karadjeri, and we may perhaps regard it as intermediate between the Kariera system and the Karadjeri.

The kinship systems of this area also allow two forms of marriage of an unusual kind. One of these is marriage with the sister's son's daughter. If Ego has not married the daughter of his mother's brother then the latter may claim Ego's daughter as his wife. The relationship between mother's brother and sister's son is thus in a way reciprocal; either the sister's son may marry the daughter of his mother's brother or the latter may marry the daughter of the former.

The other unusual form of marriage is one whereby a man claims in marriage the sister's daughter of his sister's daughter's husband. This is a case of simple reciprocity. A man has a good deal to say in the marriage of his sister's daughter. My wife's mother's brother has given me my wife. Therefore in return I give him my sister's daughter to be his wife.

There are a certain number of localized increase rites connected with natural species, but there is no evidence that these are connected with the clan totems (*naragu*). One horde, for example, has a spot at which rites may be performed for the increase of water-lilies, an important article of food. The rite is performed at the proper season of the year by the headman of the horde. If there is any connection between these rites and the clan totems it has not yet been made clear.

Besides his *naragu*, or clan totem, every person has a *yari*, or personal totem. This imposes no restrictions on eating or killing or marrying. A child is told by his father or mother what his *yari* is, the parent having dreamt of it. When any one dreams of a person's *yari* it means that he will soon see that person.

Every member of the tribe has what may be described as a spiritual birth-place, which is one of a limited number of spots of which there are several in the territory of each horde. Such a spot is marked by some natural feature, always in association with water. A father "finds" a baby-spirit at such a place, and it then enters his wife, who so conceives.

The spot from which the child comes is its spiritual birth-place. This may be in the territory of the horde to which the individual belongs, *i.e.*, the father's horde, or in that of some other horde. In the latter case he has the right of residence in that country as well as in his father's.

Elkin, A. P. Unpublished Field-Notes, 1927-28.

47. Ungarinyin Type.

This area, in the western part of the Kimberley District, includes two tribes, the Ungarinyin and the Wurara.

There is the normal local organization into patrilineal hordes each owning and occupying its own territory. The persons born into one horde form an exogamous clan. Each clan is associated with one particular species of animal or other natural object which can be spoken of as its totem, and in many instances the clan has a name derived from its totem.

These local patrilineal totemic clans are divided between two patrilineal moieties. One of the moieties has associated with it (as moiety totems) the hill kangaroo and a species of night bird named *djungun*, and the other has the long-legged kangaroo and a bird named *wotoi*.

The kinship system of the Ungarinyin tribe cannot be classified with any other though it has some similarity to that of the Yarlalde tribe. Like the systems of the Aranda type it is based on the recognition of four lines of descent, those of the father's father, mother's mother's brother, mother's father and father's mother's brother. As in the Yarlalde system persons of one clan or of one line of descent and of different generations are classified together under a single term. The principle is carried further, however, in this tribe than it is in the Yarlalde. Thus in the mother's clan or line of descent a single term is applied to all males, including mother's father, mother's brother, mother's brother's son, mother's brother's son's son, and mother's brother's son's son's son, and a single term is applied to all females including mother's father's sister, mother, mother's brother's daughter, etc. In the mother's mother's brother's clan or line all persons, male and female, of all generations, are denoted by a single term.

The system prohibits marriage with first cousins, *i.e.*, with mother's brother's daughter or father's sister's daughter. The former is classified with the mother, and the latter with the sister's daughter and the daughter's

daughter. It also appears to prohibit marriage with the mother's mother's brother's daughter's daughter, who is also classified with the mother. It would seem to permit marriage with the father's mother's brother's son's daughter.

The system does not permit the exchange of sisters, but this applies only to own sisters not to classificatory or tribal sisters. Thus a man could not marry the sister of his sister's husband, but could marry a woman from the same clan. Marriage with the sister's son's daughter, which is a regular marriage in many tribes of the Kimberley District, is not permitted in the Ungarinyin system.

The mechanism for the arrangement of marriage would seem to be something like that of the Yeralde system. A man must find a woman who is not nearly related to him and who belongs to his own moiety and is married to a man of the same line of descent as his father's mother. This woman can become his mother-in-law. By the peculiarities of the system a man is permitted to marry outside his own generation, and can marry women of two different generations. Thus a man having already one wife may marry in addition his wife's brother's daughter.

Like the system of the Yeralde that of the Ungarinyin is a deviation from the normal Australian type, and is yet clearly related to systems of the Aranda type in being based on the recognition of four lines of descent.

The Ungarinyin tribe has a certain number of localized ceremonies for the increase of natural species but does not seem to have a regular cult of the talu type such as is found in the Karia and other tribes further south. The place of this cult seems to be taken by a special cult centring around galleries of rock paintings. The renewal or execution of paintings in these galleries affords a means of providing for the increase of totemic species.

There is a belief that pregnancy is the result of the entrance into a woman of a baby-spirit. These are made by or emanate from Ungud the rainbow-serpent and are associated with water, being "found" by the father at certain water-holes or in the falling rain. Thus each person has a spiritual birth-place, being the water-hole from which the baby-spirit comes. The father normally sees the baby-spirit in a dream and directs it to his wife.

Besides his clan totem, inherited from his father, every person has at least one and perhaps two or more personal totems, called *yarin*. How

this is determined in the Ungarinyin tribe is not known, but it seems that in the adjoining Wurara tribe the personal totem or totems of an individual (called *baru* in that tribe) are the hereditary totems of his or her mother's brother. To dream of the personal totem of an individual means that he will soon be seen.

Elkin, A. P. Unpublished Field-Notes, 1927-28.

48. Nyul-nyul Type.

This area consists of part of Dampier Land. The principal tribe is the Nyul-nyul, but three other small tribes, the Djukan, Ngormbal and Djabera-djaber, seem to have the same organization.

These tribes have a system of four sections with the names—

Banaka	=	Burungu
Karimba	=	Paldjeri

The kinship terminology conforms in its main features to the Aranda type. The tribes are divided into patrilineal hordes each with its own territory. It would seem that the men of any one horde belong to one patrilineal couple of sections, certain hordes being Banaka-Paldjeri and the others Karimba-Burungu. The horde is consequently exogamous. Moreover the hordes play a definite and important part in the arrangement of marriages. There is a preference for marriage between persons of widely separate hordes.

The Nyul-nyul have the two unusual forms of marriage which are found in this part of Australia, namely (*a*) marriage with the sister's son's daughter, and (*b*) marriage with the sister's daughter's husband's sister's daughter. The latter marriage is a sort of delayed exchange. A man having received his wife from her mother's brother gives back his own sister's daughter in repayment.

The totemic system of these tribes is not yet thoroughly known. It involves two things, first the division of the territory of the tribe into districts each of which is specially associated with some natural species; secondly, the belief that conception is due to a baby-spirit which enters a woman and so becomes incarnated in a child. Each baby-spirit is regarded as being derived from one of the totemic districts and is therefore specially associated with the natural species belonging to that district which thus becomes the totem of the child. It would seem that as a general rule, to which, however, there appear to be exceptions, the totem of a child is

the same as that of the father. There is no evidence at present of the existence of localized increase ceremonies of the talu type.

It has been asserted that these tribes do not possess any form of totemism. The value of such a statement depends, of course, on what is defined as being totemism. There are special relations between human beings and natural species through the association of baby-spirits with particular localities and these again with animals and plants. If this is not to be called totemism then we should logically deny the application of that term to the Aranda system also.

1. Klaatsch, Hermann. Schlussbericht über meine Reise nach Australien in den Jahren 1904-07. *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, xxxix, 1907, 635-690.
2. Bischofs, P. Jos. Die Niol-Niol, ein Eingeborenstamm in Nord-west Australien. *Anthropos*, iii, 1908, 32-40.
3. Radcliffe-Brown, A. R. Unpublished Field-Notes, 1912.
4. Elkin, A. P. Unpublished Field-Notes, 1927-1928.

49. Bad Type.

The Bad tribe occupies the extreme north of Dampier Land. The adjoining Sunday Island was formerly occupied by the Djaii tribe which apparently had the same organization. The tribes are divided into patrilineal hordes each owning a small territory, most of the territories including some portion of the coast.

These tribes have neither moieties nor sections. The terminological classification of kin is on the whole similar to that of the Nyul-nyul, and is therefore related to the Aranda type. But the regulation of marriage is different in important respects. A man may marry women who would be forbidden him in a normal system of the Aranda type, provided her actual relationship to him is a distant one and that she comes from a horde distant from his own. As in the case of alternative or irregular marriages in tribes with the Aranda type of kinship system the relationships of the children are determined through the mother. A man may not marry his own mother's brother's daughter nor his own father's sister's daughter, but he might marry the daughter of a distant tribal "brother" of his mother.

The system could perhaps be derived from a system such as that of the Nyul-nyul by the extension and wider recognition of what are in the latter system "alternative" marriages.

The totemic system of the Bad tribe seems to be the same in essentials as that of the Nyul-nyul.

Elkin, A. P. Unpublished Field-Notes, 1927-28.

50. Karadjeri Type.

The Karadjeri tribe occupies the northern portion of the Ninety-Mile Beach about Lagrange. The adjoining Yauor tribe has the same type of organization.

The tribe has the usual division into patrilineal hordes. It has a system of four sections—

Banaka	Burung
Karimba	Paldjeri

The Karadjeri tribe consists apparently of three sub-tribes with differences of dialect and custom, the Nadja on the coast and the Nangu and Naurdu inland. The inland Karadjeri (or at least the Nangu, for little is known about the Naurdu) have a kinship system of a special type based on unilateral (matrilateral) cross-cousin marriage. A man is permitted to marry his mother's brother's daughter but is not permitted to marry his father's sister's daughter. It follows, of course, that there cannot be exchange of sisters in marriage. The system of terms differs from the Kariera type in that father's sister is distinguished from mother's brother's wife, the former being called by the same term as the father, while the latter is actual or possible wife's mother.

The kinship system of the coastal people, the Nadja, prohibits marriage with the mother's brother's daughter as well as with the father's sister's daughter. It is not apparently a normal system of Aranda type but is modified from the system of the inland portion of the tribe.

The totemism of the Karadjeri tribe seems to be similar in all essentials to that of the tribes of area I (Kariera Type). Each horde has within its territory one or more totem-centres at which ceremonies are performed for the increase of the natural species of which it is the centre. Those species for which there are centres in the territory of a horde may be called the totems of the horde.

Elkin, A. P. Unpublished Field-Notes, 1927-28.

Piddington, R. Unpublished Field-Notes, 1930.

THE SOCIAL ORGANIZATION OF AUSTRALIAN TRIBES

BY A. R. RADCLIFFE-BROWN

PART III

The social organization of Australian tribes affords material of capital importance for the science of comparative sociology. We find an organization of a single specialised type over the whole continent, and the type has been elaborated into a large number of different varieties. A comparative study of all the details of these variations affords an opportunity for sociological analysis which is perhaps not equalled in any other part of the world. This is one of the chief reasons why it is of such importance to science to obtain an adequate record of the Australian aborigines before they and their culture disappear.

It is not possible in the space here available to undertake a detailed sociological analysis of the Australian organization. But a brief discussion seems desirable in order to remove misconceptions that have arisen in theoretical discussions.¹²

The first question that requires to be dealt with is that of the relation between social organization and the terminology of kinship. There are two views on this subject that I wish to controvert. One is the view of Lewis Morgan, adopted from him by Howitt and Sir James Frazer, which is to the effect that the kinship terminology of Australian tribes is not correlated with the existing social organization but is correlated with and has its origin in a hypothetical condition in which individual marriage did not exist, but groups of men were united in some sort of marriage bond with groups of women. The second view is one which is held by Professor Kroeber, that there is in general no very close

¹² Practically all the theoretical discussion of Australian social organization has been directed towards providing hypothetical reconstructions of its history. Even Durkheim, though approaching the subject as a sociologist, devotes his attention to questions of historical development. The more modest but really more important task of trying to understand what the organization really is and how it works has been neglected.

correlation between the kinship terminology of a people and their social institutions.¹³

So far as Australian tribes are concerned it can be laid down as definitely proved that the kinship terminology of a tribe is an integral and essential part of the social organization. At every moment of the life of a member of an Australian tribe his dealings with other individuals are regulated by the relationship in which he stands to them. His relatives, near and distant, are classified into certain large groups, and this classification is carried out by means of the terminology, and could apparently not be achieved in any other way. Thus in any part of the continent when a stranger comes to a camp the first thing to be done, before he can be admitted within the camp, is to determine his relationship to every man and woman in it, *i.e.*, to determine what is the proper term of relationship for him to apply to each of them. As soon as he knows his relation to a given individual he knows how to behave towards him, what his duties are and what his rights.

The case against Professor Kroeber is, I think, proved conclusively by the fact that variations in the kinship terminology from tribe to tribe are directly correlated with variations in the social organization, including variations in the regulation of marriage.

As against Morgan and those who follow him it can be shown that there is a very thorough functional correlation between the kinship terminology of any tribe and the social organization of that tribe as it exists at present. If this is so there is no reason whatever to suppose that the kinship terminology is a survival from some very different form of social organization in a purely hypothetical past.¹⁴

¹³ *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, xxxix, 1909, 77-84 and *Californian Kinship Systems*, University of California Publications, 1917.

¹⁴ The conclusive criticism of Morgan's theories and others of the same kind was stated forty years ago by Starcke (*The Primitive Family*, 1889, page 18)—“Many learned men are too much disposed to seek for the explanation of a given custom in conditions of former times which have now perhaps disappeared. It is certain that customs persist by the force of habit, even when the conditions which first gave birth to them have long ceased to exist, yet it is scarcely necessary to remark that this appeal to early times can only be effective when it has been shown to be impossible to discover the cause of such custom in the conditions under which they still continue. If this main principle is not accepted, we shall be led astray by every idle delusion. If we are able to trace the cause of a custom in existing circumstances, we must abide by that cause, and nothing but a definite historical account of the prior existence of the custom can induce us to seek for another explanation.”

I propose therefore to consider briefly some of the principles that are active in the Australian classification of kin. The most important of these principles is one which is present in all classificatory systems of kinship terminology. Morgan applied that term to all systems which apply the same term to lineal and collateral relatives by regarding two brothers as equivalent, so that if a man stands in a certain relationship to Ego his brother is regarded as standing in the same relationship. This principle may be spoken of as that of the equivalence of brothers. It applies, of course, equally to two sisters. Now this principle is universally applied in all Australian systems of terminology. Everywhere the brother of a father is called "father," and therefore his children are called "brother" and "sister," and similarly the sister of a mother is called "mother" and her children are also called "brother" and "sister."

This principle is not merely a matter of terminology. It is a most important sociological principle which runs through the whole of Australian life. It depends on the fact that there is a very strong, intimate and permanent social bond between two brothers born and brought up in the same family.¹⁵ This solidarity between brothers, which is itself an expression or result of family solidarity, is a very obvious thing to anyone who studies the aborigines at first hand. It shows itself moreover in certain institutions. The levirate is, I believe, universal in Australian tribes. By this custom, when a man dies, his wife or wives and his dependent children pass to his brother, in some tribes only to his younger brother. When possible it is the man's own brother who succeeds him, but if he has no brother of his own his place is taken by someone who stands in the classificatory relation of "brother" to the deceased.

The function of this custom in terms of social integration is fairly obvious. A marriage and the birth of children sets up certain social relations, a certain structural arrangement. The wife and children are dependent on the husband and father and their position in the society is fixed by that dependence. The man's death causes a disruption of the social structure, and the society needs to restore it with a minimum of

¹⁵ For an account of the relation between brothers see Warner, *Morphology and Functions of the Australian Murngin Type of Kinship*, *American Anthropologist*, xxxii, 1930, 207-256. This article gives the best account of the actual working of an Australian kinship system in the everyday life of the tribe.

alteration of the structure as a whole. This is done by replacing the dead individual by a person who is as nearly as possible his social equivalent. The substitution of one brother for another thus permits the social structure to be restored with a minimum of change after the death of an individual.

Professor Sapir has suggested that there is a correlation between the custom of the levirate and the general principle of classificatory systems of terminology.¹⁶ In that I think he is right, but I think he is in error in suggesting a direct causal relation between the two whereby the custom of classifying the father's brother with the father is regarded as the effect of the levirate. In general I believe that it is a false procedure to look for the cause of one social institution in another particular institution. In the present instance my own view is that both the levirate and the classificatory principle in terminology are the results of the action of a single sociological principle, namely that which I have called the principle of the social equivalence of brothers. This principle is at work, I believe, wherever we find the levirate and wherever we find a classificatory system of terminology. Its action is more effective in some societies than in others, and it is combined with the action of other principles. Thus in some societies we may find a classificatory system without the levirate, and in others we may find the latter without the former.

The principle is obviously far more effective in the simpler societies than in the more complex. In such a simple society as that of an Australian tribe the intimate and close relationship between brothers lasts right through life. Two brothers necessarily belong to the same social groups, the same horde, the same clan, etc. The only exception to this would be in age groups, when older and younger brothers might belong to different groups. Two brothers, therefore, occupy similar positions in the total social structure. Their social personalities are almost precisely the same. This is rarely the case in our own complex societies.

The principle of the equivalence of brothers as an active principle determining social structure may be regarded as a special example of a more general tendency the presence of which is readily discovered in the social structure of the simpler cultures. Wherever the structure includes small groups of strong solidarity and having important and

¹⁶ Sapir, *Terms of Relationship and the Levirate*. *American Anthropologist*, N.S., xviii, 1916, 327-337.

varied functions, when an individual is brought into some close social relation with one member of the group, there is a tendency to bring him into close relation with all the other members of the group. An instance of this tendency is to be seen in the special close relation that is set up in many societies between a man and the group (family, clan, etc.) from which he obtains a wife. In terms of persons, if there is a strong, intimate and permanent bond between two persons A and B, then when a third person C is brought into an important social relation with B there is a tendency to bring him into close relation with A. The resulting relation between C and A will depend, of course, on the kind of relation that already exists between A and B.¹⁷ In terms of the Australian social organization I am by the fact of birth and upbringing brought into a specific relation with my father. Since between him and his brother there is the special intimate relation that we have seen I am brought into a very close relation with my father's brother in which he becomes for me another "father." This would seem to be the essential principle of the classificatory system of terminology and of the Australian social organization.

A similar custom to the levirate is that known as the sororate. The form that this takes in Australia is that when a man marries the elder of two or more sisters he becomes entitled to marry the younger ones also. In many Australian tribes the ideal arrangement is considered to be that a man who marries the eldest of the sisters should also marry the second and that he should then transfer his right to the third and fourth to his younger brother. In this custom of the sororate we have sisters treated as being socially equivalent, just as with brothers in the levirate. The existence of this close bond between sisters is shown also in the custom of some tribes, for example the Yaralde, whereby a special, strong and intimate bond is set up between two men who marry two sisters. In the Yaralde tribe there is a special term of relationship for two men thus connected.

Without considering in any way how the Australian social organization may have arisen in a distant past about which we shall

¹⁷ Thus it can be shown, I think, that it is this tendency which in the instance of a man and his wife's mother finally results in the custom, universal in Australia, whereby the man must avoid all social contact with the woman while still regarding her, in the phrase of a native, as his "best friend in the world."

never obtain any direct knowledge, we may say that as it exists at present an analysis of it reveals this important active principle of the solidarity of brothers, and we may say that on this principle the existing system is built. By applying the principle the father's brother comes to be regarded for social purposes as similar to the father, and the two are classified under a single kinship term, without, however, any confusion between the real father and his brother. Similarly the mother's sister and the father's brother's wife are classified as "mother" and the behaviour towards them is modelled on that towards the mother. Carrying forward to the descending generation a man treats the children of his brother in a similar way to that in which he treats his own children, and calls them "son" and "daughter," just as they call him "father." Passing to more distant relationships the brother of the father's father is classified with the latter, both in terminology and for social purposes, and his son is therefore in turn classified with the father.

In this way the Australian native creates a stable social structure by which all the details of social intercourse between one person and another are regulated. Since relationships are traced without any limit an individual stands in some definite relationship to every person whom he meets in the course of his life.

Within a single class of relatives some are near and some are distant and the degrees of nearness, though not usually expressed in the terminology, are of course recognized for social purposes and such recognition is an integral and essential part of the system. Thus a man cannot marry, or show any familiarity towards the daughter of any man he calls "father." He could not fight with his own father, nor, I think, with his father's brothers or any of his nearer "fathers," but he may quite well on occasion fight against a distant "father," and indeed much more readily in some tribes than against a distant "mother's brother."

A second important principle of the Australian system is the distinction between the father and the mother, and therefore between relatives through the father and relatives through the mother. Father and mother are treated as two different kinds of relatives, though it is difficult to give any simple statement as to what the difference consists in. Throughout Australia it seems that the personal bond between a child, even a son, and the mother, is regarded as stronger than that between child and father. By virtue of the act of suckling, if for no other reason,

the personal relation of child and mother is a peculiarly intimate one, especially in the early years of life, and this creates a permanent bond of solidarity which has great importance in Australian life and in determining the social structure.

When we come to the brother of the mother and the sister of the father the classificatory principle takes a new form. Since there is a close bond between a child and its mother, and another bond between the mother and her brother the child is brought into a close personal bond with the mother's brother. The latter is not treated in any way as similar to the father or father's brother, but is treated as a sort of male "mother." Similarly the father's sister is treated as a sort of female "father." In all Australian tribes the actual mother's brother and the actual father's sister of an individual have important places in his life, and the whole system can only be understood when this is fully recognized. Thus the distinction in terminology between mother's brother and father and between father's sister and mother is correlated with social distinctions of the greatest importance. The tendency to treat the mother's brother as a sort of male "mother" is the result of the action of the same principle that results in the father's brother being treated as a "father."¹⁸

Another important principle of the Australian system is connected with the relations between persons of different generations. The relationship of generation has its origin in the family in the relation of parents to children. It becomes of importance in general social life because social continuity requires that the body of tradition possessed by the society shall be handed on by one generation to the next, and this handing on of tradition entails a relation of superiority and subordination as between one generation and the next. The generation of parents must have authority over the generation of children. We find this in one form or another in every human society.

As between persons who are separated by an intervening generation a new situation arises. If we call the generations 1, 2 and 3, then those of generation 1 exercise authority over those of 2 and those of 2 over those of 3, but by a tendency which is apparent in many of the simpler societies and is perhaps really universal, persons of 1 and 3 are brought

¹⁸ The tendency can be seen in many classificatory systems in different parts of the world. See Radcliffe-Brown, *The Mother's Brother in South Africa*, *South African Journal of Science*, xxi, 1924, 542-555.

together into a different kind of relationship which, in spite of the difference of age, links them together on terms of familiarity and almost of equality. It is possible to demonstrate the reality of this tendency and its effectiveness in influencing the social structure in many parts of the world. It is certainly effective and important in Australian society. It shows itself in the terminology in two ways. In a few tribes the father's father is called "elder brother" and the son's son is called "younger brother," but this procedure is rare in Australia. More commonly a single reciprocal term is used between grandparents and grandchildren. Thus a father's father and his son's son address each other by the same term. Now it seems that very frequently in classificatory systems of terminology the use of a single self-reciprocal term between two relatives indicates that the social relation between them is symmetrical, whereas the use of two terms one reciprocal to the other implies that the social relationship is asymmetrical. By a symmetrical relationship is meant one in which, as between two relatives A and B, A behaves towards B in the same way as B towards A, whereas in an asymmetrical relationship A behaves in one way towards B and B behaves in a different but correlated way towards A. Thus the relation of father and son is a typical asymmetrical relationship in Australia and apparently everywhere. In Australia also the relationship between two brothers is always in some respects asymmetrical, and therefore in the terminology there is usually no word for brother but one term for elder brother and another for younger brother. Now in the case of grandparents and grandchildren, or at any rate in that of father's father and son's son, it does seem that the use of a single self-reciprocal term between them is associated with a tendency to group them together on terms of familiarity, and if not equality at any rate of social equivalence. This is borne out by the way in which, in certain kinship terminologies, a given individual applies the same term of relationship to two men who are father's father and son's son to one another. We shall see later that one of the significant features of the section system is that it brings together into the same position in the social structure the father's father and his son's son. ✓

The principle that is here indicated enables us to understand a very strange feature of the terminology of some tribes. The father's father's father is called by the same term as "son," and the son's son's son is called by the same term as "father." Since I include under a single relationship

my father's father and my son's son, the sons of all relatives of that kind should fall together and can be called "father," while the fathers of all of them should equally be classified together and may therefore be called "son."

Another most important principle in the Australian system is that of reciprocity in marriage. This is merely a special instance of a much wider principle of reciprocity. What underlies it is the fact that when a marriage takes place there is a change of social structure, certain existing social ties being broken or changed and other new ties created. The group from which the bride is taken, whether we regard the family only, or the horde, suffers a loss or damage. For this they must be compensated or indemnified. It is this aspect of marriage that affords the explanation of a great many of the ritual and other customs connected with marriage in all parts of the world. In Australia it results in a custom whereby marriage is normally an exchange in which each side loses a woman and gains one. In the majority of tribes this takes the form of sister exchange. A man receives a wife from a certain family and horde and his own sister goes in exchange to his wife's brother. Amongst the tribes of Gippsland, who have no moieties, the exchange of sisters is regarded (according to Howitt) as the only legitimate form of marriage. In the Yarlalde and other tribes where the local patrilineal clan is a very important group the exchange is not between families but between clans. Where there is a system of moieties one of the functions of this is that every marriage, whether by exchange of sisters or not, is an exchange between one moiety and the other. So also, in the section system all marriages are parts of a continuous series of exchanges between the two sections or sub-sections of a pair.

Most Australian systems of terminology are dependent on this reciprocity in marriage. Where there is sister exchange the father's sister and the mother's brother's wife are classified together under a single term, and similarly the wife's brother is classified with the sister's husband. In the exceptional tribes in which sister exchange is not permitted these relatives are distinguished.

In some of the Australian systems we find other forms of exchange in marriage. Thus in the Kimberley district the marriage of a man with his sister's daughter's husband's sister's daughter is a form of delayed exchange.

A matter of great importance is the position of the family in the Australian system. First it should be noted that the family, *i.e.*, the group formed by a man and his wife or wives and their dependent children, is certainly not less important amongst the Australian aborigines than it is amongst ourselves. This was shown many years ago by Malinowski,¹⁹ but perhaps needs to be reaffirmed. The important function of the family is that it provides for the feeding and bringing up of the children. It is based on the co-operation of man and wife, the former providing the flesh food and the latter the vegetable food, so that quite apart from the question of children a man without a wife is in an unsatisfactory position since he has no one to supply him regularly with vegetable food, to provide his firewood and so on. This economic aspect of the family is a most important one and it is partly this that explains Australian polygyny. I believe that in the minds of the natives themselves this aspect of marriage, *i.e.*, its relation to subsistence, is of greatly more importance than the fact that man and wife are sexual partners.

Some of the earlier writers, such as Howitt and Spencer, have given a false picture of the Australian family by entirely neglecting the economic aspect and regarding marriage as only a matter of sexual union. Thus in a number of Australian tribes men other than the husband may be given temporary or permanent rights of sexual relation with a particular woman. But sexual relations between a man and a woman do not constitute marriage in Australia any more than they do in our own society.

We have nothing like complete or even satisfactory information about the pirauru or piraungaru customs of the tribes round Lake Eyre, and it is perhaps now too late to make any thorough investigation, but we can be quite satisfied that when Spencer and Gillen say that "a group of women of a certain designation are actually the wives of a group of men of another designation" they are using the word wife in a way in which it cannot be used if we are to apply it to the ordinary marriage relation either in Australian tribes or amongst ourselves.

It is not possible here to discuss the meaning and function of the various Australian customs relating to sexual unions outside marriage. It is a complex subject and our information at present is not perhaps sufficient. It is enough for our present purpose to point out that a statement such as that of Spencer and Gillen that "individual marriage

¹⁹ *The Family among the Australian Aborigines*, 1913.

does not exist either in name or in practice in the Urabunna tribe" is false on any ordinary definition of marriage.

The false lead given to the discussion of Australian kinship by Morgan's theories has obscured the fact, very plain to the observer who makes an unbiassed study of any tribe, that the whole kinship system is based on the family. The relationships between one person and another in the kinship system are individual relationships. In deciding what they are appeal is always made to actual genealogical connection. Thus in Western Australia the first question always asked of a stranger is "Who is your father's father?" Similarly in all discussions as to the suitability of a proposed marriage it is the genealogical connection between the two persons that is considered. It is true that when the genealogical connection is too remote to be traced the natives fall back on a consideration of the section or sub-section or the clan to which an individual belongs, but this does not alter the fact that in the minds of the natives themselves they are dealing, throughout all the ramifications of the kinship system, with real genealogical relations of parent and child or sibling and sibling.

The terminology of some earlier writers is therefore misleading. They distinguish between "blood" and "tribal" relationships. In the first place the term "blood" is misleading. The Australian aborigines do not recognize physiological but only social relationships, as was mentioned in Part I of this essay. The word "tribal" is equally misleading, for in the kinship organization the tribe is not an important unit. The real distinction is that which the natives themselves make between near and distant relatives, and not two degrees but many are recognized in this. Thus a man can classify the men he calls "father" into (1) his own father, in the social not the physiological sense (*pater* not *genitor*), (2) his father's own brothers, (3) other "fathers" belonging to his own horde, (4) those belonging to other hordes but fairly closely connected with him by genealogy, (5) those of other hordes whose relation to him is more remote. Within the groups 3, 4 and 5 it is possible for him to make other distinctions, and these will almost entirely be based on considerations of genealogy. Such a statement as that of Sir James Frazer²⁰ that the Australian terms of kinship "designate relationships between groups, not between individuals" is therefore very misleading.

²⁰ *Totemism and Exogamy*, 1910, i, 303.

Not only is the Australian kinship system at the present time actually based on the family and on genealogical relations having their origin in individual relations of parents and children, but also in the analysis given above I have tried to show that the active principles at work in determining the system are the result of the strong solidarity of the individual family. Thus the essential character of the classificatory terminology, according to the interpretation here offered, is the recognition of the bond between two brothers born of the same parents as one of such strength and intimacy that any social relation with one of two brothers necessarily involves a somewhat similar relation with the other. The very intimate relation between a man and his mother's brother is an example of the same process. In brief we may say that in Australia the whole social structure is built up on the recognition that the most significant and permanent social relations between individuals are those between parents and children and between the children of the same parents.

The next matter to be briefly referred to is the position in the system of the hordes or local groups. Here again theoretical discussions of conjectural history have led to misunderstanding of the facts. Thus in a few tribes it was observed that there was a custom of local exogamy, *i.e.*, there were local groups within which marriage was prohibited. It was assumed that this did not exist in the tribes for which it was not recorded, and attempts were made to draw a distinction between types of social organization on this basis. Further enquiries directed specifically to determining the nature of the local organization indicate that local exogamy is to be regarded as a normal, though perhaps not quite universal, feature of the Australian organization. But this exogamy is simply the result of the constitution of the horde. It seems that normally all the persons born in one horde belong to a single line of descent so that the men are all "father's father," "father," "elder brother," "younger brother," "son," or "son's son" to one another. Marriage within the horde is thus debarred not by a special rule, but by the ordinary regulation of marriage by the kinship system.

The use of the term exogamy has certain dangers, as it may lead to ambiguity. Thus what is called an exogamous group may be such because it is constituted of relatives who are debarred from intermarrying by rules regulating marriage between kin. The rule of exogamy is therefore merely a special application of the more general rule. But

once a group has been dubbed exogamous the assumption is frequently made that this exogamy is a thing by itself to be explained without reference to the regulation of marriage by kinship. In Australia it can I think be stated with certainty that everywhere marriage is regulated by kinship, *i.e.*, by the classification of kindred through the kinship terminology. Any group that is exogamous is so because it consists of certain kinds of kin.

In certain tribes there are factors at work which may result in destroying the exogamy of the horde. Thus in some tribes with an Aranda type of kinship irregular marriages may take place, and the position of the children in the kinship system may then be counted through the mother and not through the father. Where this happens a horde will come to contain persons of more than one line of descent. There will thus arise a condition in which by the ordinary kinship rules a man might marry a woman of his own horde. But, at any rate at first, there will be a feeling that the old rule of horde exogamy should be observed. A condition of instability and uncertainty will thus arise, and so far as I could judge this is what had taken place in some of the tribes of Western Australia, such as the Baiong. There is evidence that in some tribes attempts have been made to overcome this difficulty, but the subject is one on which further enquiries are necessary. It is possible that in some instances a tribe would come by some such process to abandon the rule of local exogamy. This would, however, be an important modification of the character of the horde.

For a large number of Australian tribes it can certainly be said that the persons born in one horde form a local patrilineal clan, having a strong and definite kinship solidarity similar to that of the joint family or extended family of some other societies. The men of one generation regard one another as "brothers."

While the family is the primary economic unit in both production and consumption, the horde unites a number of families in a wider economic group in which there is regular co-operation in hunting and other activities, and a regular sharing of food. Thus the particularism of the family whereby it might tend to become an isolated unit is neutralised by the horde solidarity, which is itself based on family solidarity.

By reason of the patrilineal descent of the horde all the nearest relatives in the direct male line of any person are to be found in his own

horde. Similarly all his nearest relatives through his mother in the male line are to be found in his mother's horde. Consequently the hordes play an important part in the kinship system in the classification of the relatives of an individual into near and distant. So much is this so that when natives speak of "distant" relatives they combine in the one conception both genealogical remoteness and geographical distance.

This is perhaps an appropriate place in which to make a brief reference to the function of the patrilineal descent which is a feature of the local organization all over Australia. In his adaptation to a somewhat unfavourable environment the Australian native has to rely on accumulated detailed knowledge of the animals and plants he uses for food and for other purposes. A most important part of this knowledge is topographical, *i.e.*, consists of the detailed knowledge of a certain piece of country. A boy begins to acquire this knowledge about the country of his own horde from a very early age. If he left his own country, say at marriage, this knowledge would be lost and he would have to start over again to learn all that he would require to know about the country to which he moved. Everywhere it is the men who not only control their own activities of hunting or fishing but also control and direct the women's activities of collecting vegetable food. It must be remembered that the territory of a horde is normally more than one hundred square miles in area and that one of the characteristics of Australia is the discontinuous distribution of plants and animals, so that a given species may be found in abundance in a limited area, and then no more specimens may be found over a wide radius until another local patch is reached. The local knowledge possessed by the men is therefore of great importance, and the patrilineal descent of the horde is of very real advantage to the aborigines in their adaptation.

An important problem with which it is not possible to deal adequately in the space available is that of the relation of the moiety organization to the Australian system as a whole. Since the presence of sections or sub-sections involves the existence of both patrilineal and matrilineal moieties, though not necessarily named, we may say that the great majority of Australian tribes have some sort of moiety arrangement. There are six areas scattered round the continent in which moieties are absent. One is on the coast of Western Australia round the Murchison River (area 4 of Map II), but the absence of moieties here is not definitely proved. A second is an area of considerable size lying north of the Great Australian

Bight and extending as far as central Australia.²¹ A third area is on the lower Murray River (area 12 on Map II, Yaralde type). A fourth is at the south-east corner of the continent (areas 19, 20 and probably 24 of Map II). A fifth area is in the north-east of Arnhem Land (43, 44 and 45 on Map II). Finally there is a small area at the extreme north of Dampier Land (area 49). Such of the tribes of these areas as are known show somewhat aberrant forms of the kinship system, differing considerably amongst themselves.

An examination of the simplest of the normal Australian kinship systems, that of the Kariera, based on first cross-cousin marriage, shows that such a system if logically and consistently carried out must inevitably result in the formation of moieties. But since a moiety system exists in other parts of the world associated with different kinds of kinship system we cannot assume a direct causal relation in the case of the Kariera.

Briefly it may be said that the most important function of the division into moieties is that it systematizes the kinship arrangements. It must suffice here to point out one of the ways in which it does this. The kinship system, working through the terminology, creates a social structure, but in the first instance the structure so established is relative to a given individual. So far as Ego is concerned every person within the society stands in some specific relationship. But the classificatory system of terminology does not and cannot by itself produce any system of social segments as absolute divisions of the society. By segmentation is meant the division of society into groups distinct from one another and similar in kind such that every person must belong to one particular group or segment of the series and cannot belong to more than one. The growth of segmentary structures is a constant feature of social development, and it seems that certain forms of structure can only reach stability and permanence by that means. Thus though it is possible by means of a classificatory system of terminology to establish a kinship structure by which the social relations of individuals can be satisfactorily regulated within a community of limited size, that structure will remain unstable until it is supplemented by some segmentary organization which will group the individuals into permanent and recognizable groups. Now

²¹ Dr. Elkin's recent survey of the South Australian tribes has shown that the dotted area on Map I must be extended east and north so as to cover the whole eastern part of South Australia.

in respect of kinship there are two forms of segmentation in Australia, into moieties or into clans. Where there are moieties there is usually a subdivision of the moieties into clans. So that in any sociological analysis moieties and clans must be considered together.

It has long been recognized that there is a fairly close correlation between the classificatory system of kinship terminology and the organization of society into clans or moieties. Rivers would explain this correlation by the hypothesis that the classificatory terminology is the result of the clan organization. He has himself seen that there are serious difficulties in the way of this hypothesis, and was ultimately brought to formulate the hypothesis that the classificatory terminology could only arise in a society divided into moieties.²² The assumption that a moiety organization was once present wherever we find classificatory systems is entirely unjustifiable. Moreover the theory of Rivers still leaves us without any explanation of clans and moieties. As I have said before I regard this method of explaining the correlation of two social institutions by regarding one as the "cause" of the other as being usually unsound. The alternative method, and I believe the sound one, is to regard the correlated institutions as part of a system behind which are certain active principles, which not merely help to produce the institutions at their origin but serve to maintain them in existence as long as they continue. The task of the sociologist is to isolate these active principles by a process of analysis, formulate them as precisely as possible, and endeavour to reduce them to terms of universal sociological law.

I have tried to show that one active principle of the classificatory terminology is the solidarity of brothers. This same principle may be seen to be at work in the clan or the joint family, for in these organizations siblings are kept together in the same social group.

I have also indicated another important principle, which in this instance is a universal sociological law though it is not yet possible to formulate precisely its scope, namely that in certain specific conditions a society has need to provide itself with a segmentary organization. In Australia this need is met by the existence of moieties and clans.

As soon as segmentary kinship groups come into existence we have a new social phenomenon, that of descent, *i.e.*, we have membership

²² *Social Organization*, 1924, 67.

of a social group determined by reference to one of the two parents. Descent is necessarily unilateral, whereas kinship is equally necessarily bilateral. In the formation of a system of clans or moieties a choice must be made between patrilineal descent or matrilineal descent. This will tend to produce a social emphasis on relationship to and through one parent as compared with that to and through the other. And this in turn may result in a social condition in which conflicts tend to arise.

In Australia the conception of kinship is very definitely bilateral. It is true that everywhere the important social group, the horde, is patrilineal. But the individual is very closely bound to his mother's horde. And certain customs show that the bond between child and mother is regarded by the natives as being stronger than that between child and father. Thus we have seen that in tribes in which descent is primarily patrilineal the position of the child of an irregular marriage in the kinship system is determined through the mother and not through the father.

One of the functions of the section system is that it affords adequate recognition to both patrilineal and matrilineal kinship, since in it there are both patrilineal moieties and matrilineal moieties, though either or both may be unnamed. But there are a number of other principles that find expression in the section system. One of the most important of these is the alternation of generations.

By the section system the whole society is divided into two generation groups, one consisting of sections A and B, and the other of sections C and D. Each group consists of what I have called in Part I of this essay a *pair* of sections. The existence of these groups is recognized by the natives everywhere where there is a section system. In some tribes of Western Australia there is a special term which a man applies to all the persons included in his own pair of sections taken collectively, and another term which he applies to all the persons of the other and alternating pair. We have seen that in area 8 (Southern Cross) the two groups which correspond to pairs of sections in a section system are given names.

This segmentation separates parents and children, who necessarily belong to different divisions. It also generalizes throughout the whole society the parent-child relationship. All the persons in the other division from Ego belong to either the parent's generation or the children's generation in relation to Ego. It also brings together into one social

group grandparents and grandchildren. All persons of my grandparents' generation belong to my own division, as of course do all persons of my own generation. Thus the generations alternate between the one pair of classes and the other.

The section system fulfils a further function of bringing into direct relation with one another in the system the two intermarrying groups, *i.e.*, the groups that exchange women in marriage. This is the relationship of the two sections A and B and it determines all the social relations (economic, ritual, etc.) of the members of these two groups. In all the normal Australian systems marriage is forbidden between persons of two adjoining generations. This is the result of the terminological classification reinforced by the action of the generation principle and the generalisation of the parent-child relationship to the distant "brothers" of the father and the mother. In some tribes it is possible for a man to marry into the generation of his grandchild or even possibly into that of his grandparents.

Thus the function of the section system is to systematize and make more definite the organization that is already present in the kinship system as the result of the classification of kin by means of the terminology. It does this by bringing together all the relatives of a given person into four groups which are at the same time segments or absolute divisions of the whole society. It serves not merely to systematize the kinship system but also to give it a stability and permanence that it would not otherwise have.

I must make brief reference to the question of descent. It is common to speak of some Australian tribes as patrilineal and others as matrilineal. This is, to say the least, misleading. In the first place in every Australian tribe what is really the most important social group, the horde, is patrilineal. But some tribes, in addition to these patrilineal groups, have a system of matrilineal groups, which are necessarily not localised and are usually, if not always, totemic. These tribes are found in four widely separated areas. One is area 5 in Western Australia. A second, and by far the largest region consists of areas 10, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17 and 21, and possibly some part of area 27. A third region is area 37, though about this our information is not satisfactory. The fourth region is area 43.

In the first of these regions and throughout the second the matrilineal

moieties are recognized and named. In area 21 the four sections are named in addition to the moieties. In area 37 matrilineal totemism is combined with a system of eight sub-sections, and we have no information about moieties. In area 43 there are no moieties, but their place is taken by three matrilineal phratries. Throughout the greater part of area 27 and in area 28 the matrilineal moieties are named, but we have no evidence of the existence of matrilineal clans.

So far as descent goes, therefore, we must divide Australian tribes into two groups, those in which there are only patrilineal descent groups, and those in which there are both patrilineal and matrilineal descent groups.

So far as the sections or sub-sections go it is of course incorrect to speak of patrilineal or matrilineal descent at all, unless we do so in case of irregular marriages, and in that respect we have seen that in the majority of tribes that have only patrilineal descent groups kinship in irregular marriages is reckoned through the mother.

The subject of the function of matrilineal clans will be returned to later.

The Australian social organization is built up on the family and based on family solidarity. The existence of the family as a very important group by reason of its economic and other functions, creates strong social bonds between parents and children and between the children of the same parents. But the family is a short-lived group. By the action of the principle of the solidarity of siblings there is built up in Australia a stable structure uniting each person to every other he meets by bonds of kinship, and joining individuals into groups which are stable and permanent and which the Australian native himself regards as immortal, belonging to the eternal order of things, having their origin at the beginning of the world, and thought of as continuing to the end of the world.

I have tried to show that the kinship terminology is an essential and most important part of the social system. As against Professor Kroeber I think it can be held that in Australia the classification of relatives in the kinship terminology is a classification for social purposes and is based throughout on social or sociological principles.

✓ Every human society has to provide for itself a system of social integration whereby individuals are united into groups and collective

action is provided for. As no adaptation is perfect every society is constantly readjusting its integrative system, usually without any clear consciousness of what it is doing. In Australia this process of readjustment has been going on for many centuries. The details of the process itself will for ever be unknown, and it is useless to speculate about them. But the results are present in the existing different tribal systems, and these we can compare one with another. In the brief notes that follow I shall compare some of the varieties of Australian social organization with reference to differences in the mode of social integration that they provide.

Integrative systems differ in what may be called the extent of the circle of social relations, which may be defined roughly by reference to the number of persons with whom a given individual is brought into effective direct or indirect social relations. Differences of this kind may be spoken of as differences in level of integration. It is obvious that there is an enormous difference in level of integration between the Australian aborigines and the present societies of Europe or America. In two societies at approximately the same level the integration may be closer or looser.

In any society there are normally present a certain number of factors tending towards an expansion of social solidarity, and other factors tending in the opposite direction towards a contraction of social solidarity. These two sets of opposing factors may be in a state of equilibrium, or at a given time one set of factors may be stronger than the other. Some of these factors can be studied and seen at work in an Australian tribe. Thus certain religious movements tend towards a widening of solidarity and therefore to a widening of the circle of social relations. On the other hand warfare is a factor tending in the opposite direction.

It is from this strictly sociological point of view that I propose to compare a few of the varieties of Australian social organization.

One of the simplest integrative systems in Australia is that of the Kariera tribe and others of the same type. In this system a man's closest relations are with his own family, first with his parents and brothers and sisters, then after he is married with his wife and children. His intimate relations with his parents and with his brothers last as long as they are alive. Outside the family groups to which he belongs he has close, continuous and permanent relations with the other persons of his

own horde. Within this narrow circle of probably not more than fifty persons all told most of his social life turns. Outside his own horde he has a fairly close relation with the horde of his own mother, being always a welcome visitor in the country of that horde. When he marries he establishes for himself a close relation with the horde from which he obtains a wife. By the Kariera system of marriage this may be his mother's horde, so that the one horde becomes for him both that of his mother and that of his wife. With all other hordes his relations are less close and definite. Everywhere within his own tribe, however, he will find persons speaking the same language as himself and practising the same customs. The linguistic group of which he is thus a member may number perhaps 500 persons. His relations, however, are not confined to members of his own tribe, but normally extend to some hordes of the neighbouring tribe or tribes.

Wherever he goes all the persons he meets are his relatives by the working of the kinship system. These are further classified for him by the section system. Outside the circle of his immediate relatives he tends to classify other persons according to the hordes to which they belong. There are certain collective terms of relationship which the individual applies to different hordes. This tendency to treat ~~their~~ horde as a unit is, as we shall see, a determining factor of some importance in the Australian systems. It seems to be present throughout the continent.

In the marriage system of the Kariera a man looks first for a wife to his mother's brother, *i.e.*, to his mother's horde. If he succeeds in obtaining a wife there then his social circle remains a somewhat narrow one in which only two hordes, his own and his mother's, play important parts. If he cannot obtain a wife from his mother's horde he may seek for one in a horde into which his father's sister has married and with which, for that reason, his father is on intimate terms. The marriage system of the Kariera type therefore tends towards a contraction of the social circle. It maintains close solidarity within a narrow range.

But even in the tribes of the Kariera type there are factors tending towards the expansion of solidarity, the widening of the social circle. One or two of these may be mentioned. One of them is connected with an alternative method of obtaining a wife. When a youth is to be initiated into manhood he is sent on a journey which lasts frequently for several months. It is his grand tour. During his journey he is treated as sacred

wherever he goes and may therefore visit in complete safety hordes that are at enmity with his own. He is normally taken first to a neighbouring horde of the other moiety from his own, and is passed on from one horde to another until he passes out of his own tribe and may eventually reach a tribe at some distance from his own. Here he remains for a period and acquires some knowledge of the language. He returns to his own home in due course. For the rest of his life the country through which he has travelled becomes his "road" along which he can travel to carry messages or for other purposes. Thus in a given horde there will be men having different roads which serve to bring the horde into relation, through these individuals, with a considerable area of country. Now it seems that a man tries to obtain a wife from a distant horde on his own road, and sometimes succeeds in doing so. Normally, I think, he will be expected to give a sister in exchange. He establishes by this marriage a connection between his own children and this distant horde which is of course that of their mother. This aspect of the Kariëra system is, I think, an important one intending to produce a wider integration.

Another feature may be noted. We have seen that the mother's brother is a very important relative. Now the social structure of Australian tribes is built up by the recognition of indirect relationships, and by this process a man comes into a special relation with the mother's brother of his mother's brother. In the Kariëra system the mother's mother's brother is classified with the father's father. Actually a man's father's father and his mother's mother's brother may be one and the same person, by reason of cousin marriage and exchange of sisters. Even when this is not so, and the situation seems to be a rare one, a man's own mother's mother's brother may occasionally belong to his own horde. But in a considerable number of instances, probably the great majority, a man's mother's mother's brother belongs to some other horde of his own moiety. Where this is so it produces a new kind of relation between the individual and this horde. This relation seems to be recognized in the Kariëra system, but is not apparently there of very much importance. It is, however, one of the factors tending towards expansion of solidarity through kinship, and becomes of very great importance in some of the other types of kinship system.

I must leave for another occasion the question of the position of totemism in the integrative system, but it may be noted here that the

Kariera system, in which each local clan is a separate totemic unit, serves on the whole to emphasize the solidarity of the clan.

In the Kumbaingeri system the basis of the social organization is essentially the same as that of the Kariera although the two tribes are separated by the whole width of the continent. But in the Kumbaingeri system there are certain significant changes. A man is no longer permitted to marry his own mother's brother's daughter, nor is he, I think, permitted to marry into his mother's clan. He must marry the daughter of a man he calls "mother's brother," but it must be a "distant" "mother's brother" both genealogically and geographically. The expansive tendency noticed in the Kariera is here the chief factor. It is considered desirable that every member of a horde should establish by marriage relations with some distant horde.

There is in the Kumbaingeri some differentiation between mother's brother and wife's father but it is not very marked and the two relatives are still denoted by the same term of relationship. But there is a differentiation of the wife's mother from the father's sister. The rule of avoidance which everywhere in Australia holds for the wife's mother and women classified with her, and which in the Kariera system therefore applies to the father's sister and the mother's brother's wife, does not in the Kumbaingeri system apply to the father's sister, or to any of the women of the father's generation in a man's own horde. The factor of the solidarity of the horde has here taken a different turn from the Kariera type.

The father's sister is expected to take a "fatherly" interest in her nephew. This she may do in the Kariera tribe by giving him her daughter as a wife. In the Kumbaingeri tribe it is felt that the father's sister and all the women of his own horde are too closely bound to him by social ties to allow him to marry with their daughters. But it is still the concern of his father's sister to provide him with a wife, which she does by acting as match-maker in the distant region into which she has married. She obtains for him the daughter of a woman who is her distant "sister." If this means, as I think it frequently does, that the nephew obtains his wife from the horde into which his father's sister has married the arrangement is thus one of delayed exchange between hordes, but not between families as in the Kariera system. The tendency apparent in the Kumbaingeri system to regard the father's sister as being so close

a relative that her daughter should not be married is one that seems to be of considerable importance in a number of the Australian systems. It is to be considered, I think, as the result of an increased emphasis on family and horde solidarity.

Thus compared with the Kariera system that of the Kumbaingeri shows a somewhat wider integration while still emphasizing the solidarity of the narrow circle of the horde.

Let us now consider briefly the systems of the Aranda type. I have argued that the important principle of the Australian system as a whole is the solidarity between brothers. I have further suggested that it is the solidarity between brother and sister that explains the position of the mother's brother and father's sister. As soon as we examine kinship terminologies of the Aranda type we notice that the solidarity or social equivalence of brother and sister takes a new or extended form. One feature of the kinship terminologies of the Aranda type that at first sight seems strange to a European mind is that a woman uses the same kinship term for her brother's children that he does himself and inversely the brother calls his sister's children by the same term that she does. The principle that underlies this terminology is that brother and sister are so closely connected that in spite of the difference of sex a person who stands in a certain relation to one is regarded as standing in a similar relation to the other. It is therefore merely a further application of the principle of the equivalence of brothers which we might here refer to as the equivalence of siblings.

This same tendency, to place brother and sister together in the social classification, appears in other features of the Aranda terminology. Thus in the Kariera system the father's father's sister is classified with the mother's mother, whereas in systems of Aranda type she is classified with the father's father. And so throughout the second ascending generation brother and sister are classified together under a single term. It seems that the differences between the Aranda system and the Kariera system can be traced back to this greater emphasis on solidarity of brother and sister in the former.

This is seen in the objection to marriage with the father's sister's daughter which is present not only in systems of Aranda type but also in the Kumbaingeri, Murngin and Karadjeri types. If the father's sister is to be assimilated to the father it will result in her children occupying

a special place somewhat similar to that of siblings. In order to avoid marriage with the father's sister's daughter a tribe with an organization of the Kariera type must either abandon the exchange of sisters and continue the custom of marriage with the mother's brother's daughter (as in the Karadjeri and Murngin types), or it must make a compromise such as that of the Kumbaingeri type and allow marriage with a distant "father's sister," or it must develop a more complex classification of kin as in the Aranda type.

The mechanism of the Aranda system is not very complicated when we follow it out in terms of individual relationships. We have seen that there is a close connection between a man and his mother's mother's family and therefore with his mother's mother's brother. This relative is classed in the Kariera system with the father's father, but is generally not in a man's own horde, as are the nearest of those he calls "father's father." If the father's sister is not to be regarded as a mother-in-law and it is necessary to find some other relative for that position one immediate possibility is the daughter of the mother's mother's brother. This involves making a definite distinction between father's father and mother's mother's brother. The possibility of the distinction already exists in the Kariera system by reason of the fact that while a man's own father's father belongs to his own horde his mother's mother's brother very frequently belongs to another horde. The making of it is aided by the tendency to classify together brother and sister, so that father's father's sister coming to be associated with the father's father must be differentiated from the mother's mother who in turn will be linked with her brother.

The mechanism of marriage in the Aranda type is the result of these differentiations. Instead of looking to the daughter of his father's father (his father's sister) for her to give him a daughter as in the Kariera system, he now has to look to the daughter of his mother's mother's brother who is now fully differentiated from his father's father. In both the Kariera and Aranda types a man looks to his mother's relatives to provide him with a wife. This is because they are specially the persons outside his own family or horde who are interested in him and are expected to be concerned for his welfare. In systems of the Kariera type it is the mother's brother who gives his daughter as a wife for his sister's son. In systems of the Aranda type it is the mother's mother's brother who

gives his daughter to be a mother-in-law for his sister's daughter's child.

In terms of hordes the marriage system of the Aranda type results in a more complex integration than the Kariera system, linking an individual to four hordes in all. There is first his own, *i.e.*, his father's, horde within which his life is spent. There is secondly his mother's horde with which he has a very close connection, and from which he cannot normally obtain a wife. Through his mother and his mother's brother he is connected with their mother's brother whose horde thus becomes a third with which he is closely connected. The daughters of his mother's mother's brother are his potential wife's mothers. One of them may be specially allotted to him and when she marries she passes into a fourth horde from which he ultimately obtains his wife and with which he is consequently also closely connected. This fourth horde becomes, of course, the mother's horde of his children.

When the classification of kin is systematically carried out on the basis described above a complete system of Aranda type results. There are certain tribes, in New South Wales, for example, in which the systematization is not complete. The detailed study of those systems is of great value in enabling us to understand the principles that underlie the Aranda type generally, and will be found to confirm, I think, the analysis given above. There is no space here for any such detailed discussion.

It should be clear, I hope, from the discussion in the first part of this essay that the eight sub-sections are simply the final systematization of a kinship system of the Aranda type. An alternative systematization is provided by the four semi-moieties of the Mara and Anyula tribes, but a discussion of these would require us to consider also the totemic organization.

Amongst the vast mass of data on which this analysis of the Aranda system is based, one point may be brought forward as it is an example of those crucial instances that it is necessary to seek out in proving the validity of a sociological interpretation. I have suggested that it is the close solidarity of family and horde working in conjunction with the tendency to bring brother and sister into the same position in the social system that underlies the objection to marriage with the father's sister's daughter in the Aranda type. In systems of Aranda type the wife's father is the son of a "father's father's sister." Spencer and

Gillen record that in the Aranda tribe where a "father's father's sister" belongs to a man's own immediate family or locality (presumably his own horde) this woman's son may not become the wife's father. We have here, I think, a clear exemplification of a wider action of those same principles that on my view underlie the Aranda system as a whole.

When we compare the integrative systems of the Kariera type and the Aranda type we see that the latter provides apparently a wider integration bringing a single individual into social relations with a wider circle. Secondly it also provides a closer integration of the narrower groupings by giving new forms of expression to the solidarity of the family and the horde. It combines these two features, which would seem at first sight to be contrary to one another, by an increase in the complexity of the social structure.

We are thus justified, I think, in regarding the Kariera and the Aranda systems as two terms in an evolutionary process, for evolution, as the term is here used, is a process by which stable integrations at a higher level are substituted for or replace integrations at a lower level. This does not involve the assumption that the Aranda system is derived historically from one identical with the existing Kariera system.

The Aranda system of kinship involves certain difficulties of social adjustment. Chief of these is the difficulty of providing every man with a wife, owing to the very narrow restriction of marriage. An examination of different systems of this type shows what attempts have been made to overcome these difficulties by adjustments of the system.

A few remarks may be made on the Yarlalde system. In this there are no moieties or sections, yet it is clearly very closely related to the Aranda type, so that we must certainly assume some historical connection between them. Some of the writers on Australia have assumed that because the moiety and section organization is absent in certain tribes such as the Yarlalde, these tribes possess a social organization fundamentally different in type from the tribes with sections. That assumption, I believe, gives a quite false view of the facts.

The basis of the Yarlalde system is the recognition of four patrilineal lines of descent just as in systems of the Aranda type. But instead of the four absolute divisions which are found in a systematized Aranda type of organization the four lines of descent in the Yarlalde tribe exist only in relation to some given individual whose relationships are considered.

We have seen that in the Aranda type the hordes or local clans are of great importance. Their importance is more obvious, if perhaps not greater, in the Yarlalde system. In terms of the local clans, in the Yarlalde system, a man's near relatives of his own, *i.e.*, his father's father's, line of descent, are in his own clan. He is in intimate relation with his mother's clan which contains his nearest relatives of his mother's father's line. Similarly those of his mother's mother's brother's line are to be found in one clan. Here a special feature of the Yarlalde system appears, for an individual classifies under a single term of relationship all the members of this clan without regard to generation. The principle that is obviously at work here is that of the solidarity of the local clan. We have seen that in other more normal Australian systems there is a tendency for the individual to group together all the members of a clan other than his own and to regard his relationship to them as being determined by his genealogically close relationship to one member of the clan. This tendency has here been given free play and has in a certain sense overcome the division into generations which elsewhere is so important. For the individual his mother's mother's clan is a single unit all the members of which are classified together under a single term and regarded as standing in the same relationship to him. In the Yarlalde system therefore a man does not look to his mother's mother's local clan to provide him with a mother-in-law as in the Aranda type, and it would seem that he could not normally marry the daughter of a woman of that clan. The same situation appears with regard to the fourth line of descent. A man classifies together under a single term all persons of his father's mother's clan irrespective of generation. In the Aranda system a man obtains his wife from his father's mother's brother's line of descent. But in the Yarlalde system marriage with a woman of the father's mother's clan is forbidden. Thus, while a man's relations with his own and his mother's local clan are very similar in the Yarlalde system to what they are in the Aranda type, his relations to the local clans of his two grandmothers, paternal and maternal, are very different. His solidarity with these clans is emphasized, but it takes the form of making him so closely related to all members of the two clans in question that he cannot marry one of them. This destroys the possibility of the ordinary method of marriage of the Aranda type.

In the Yarlalde system the tracing of relationships of an individual

to different local clans is carried back to the third ascending generation. This also is an unusual feature. By this process he is brought into a relation of intimacy and close solidarity with the clans of his father's father's mother and his mother's father's mother. He regards the members of these clans as being similar to brothers and sisters, and may therefore not marry with them.

In the Yarlalde system, therefore, a man is in a close relation of simple solidarity with six local clans, including his own. He enters by marriage into close relations with a seventh clan.

The essential basis of the Yarlalde system is the same as that of systems of Aranda type, namely the recognition of the four lines of descent. It shows a further extension of some of the principles and tendencies present in the Aranda type, together with the absence of certain other features of the latter. Thus the importance of the local clan as a unit of structure is further emphasized in the Yarlalde system. The connection of a person with the local clans of his four grandparents is also emphasized, and his relationships are traced still further back so that he is intimately connected with the clans of six out of his eight great-grandparents.²³ The recognition of this connection takes the form of prohibiting marriage into any of these six clans (one of which is of course a man's own). On the other hand the absence of moieties and sections means that the relation in which a man stands to distant clans, or to those with which he has no near genealogical connection, is indeterminate. As compared with normal Australian systems the Yarlalde have adopted a different method of regulating marriage. There is no longer a simple rule that a man must marry a woman who stands to him in a particular relationship. Outside the range of his own nearer kin there are women who are sufficiently distant from him to become his wife's mother, and from any one of these he may obtain a daughter to be his wife. It seems possible that the special characteristics of the Yarlalde type are connected with a greater density of population in this part of the continent, and a greater volume of the horde, which seems to have included a larger number of individuals in these tribes than is usual in Australia as a whole. It is now unfortunately too late to verify this hypothesis.

The meaning of some of the features of the Yarlalde system can be

²³ There is no evidence of any special relation with the clans of the father's mother's mother and the mother's mother's mother, but this may have been overlooked.

made clearer by a comparison with the Ungarinyin system, the details of which, obtained by Dr. Elkin, have not yet been published. The two areas, Yarlalde (12) and Ungarinyin (47), lie so far apart that there can be no question of the influence of one tribe on the other, and they are separated by a wide area in which systems of the Aranda type are found. The Ungarinyin have adopted the same principle as the Yarlalde of applying a single kinship term to all members of the local clan of the mother's mother and the father's mother. We have thus the same sort of process occurring independently in two widely separated regions, and it seems that in both instances it is the result of an increasing emphasis on the solidarity of the local clan as a unit in the social integration.

One last subject that must be mentioned is that of tribes with matrilineal clans. Unfortunately the functioning of the social structure in these tribes has not been observed as fully as could be desired, and for most of the tribes no further observations are possible. It is, however, clear that the system of matrilineal clans marks off a man's nearest relatives in the female line from the others, just as the local clan marks off his nearest relatives in the male line. As a result of this it produces a closer integration of a man with certain of his relatives, namely those of his mother's matrilineal line, who are scattered throughout the hordes, not only of his own tribe, but of the neighbouring tribes also. The system of matrilineal clans therefore provides a powerful additional integration as compared with the tribes that lack the system.

This brief comparison of some of the variations in the Australian organization has served, I hope, to confirm the interpretation and analysis of the general type. It has shown that the terminology of kinship has a real and very close correlation with the social organization. Secondly, it has shown, I think, with sufficient clearness that throughout Australia it is the actual genealogical individual relationships resulting from the family that are the significant thing and form the basis of the whole social structure.

I hope that the whole essay has also served to show the essential homogeneity of Australia so far as social organization is concerned. In spite of the diversity of the various systems a careful comparison reveals them as being variations of a single type. Similar results are obtained by the study of other aspects of Australian culture, such as the technological system, or the mythology.

My chief purpose has been to remove certain misconceptions about the Australian social organization that are current in anthropological literature and thus to clear the way for a sociological study of the Australian culture. As a result of the researches carried out during the last four years by Lloyd Warner, Elkin, Miss McConnel, Hart, Thomson and Piddington, researches which it is to be hoped will be continued, it is now possible to undertake that study with some hope of reaching valid and important conclusions.

A. R. RADCLIFFE-BROWN.

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